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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

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Al-Khazneh

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

PETRA, EDOM AND THE EDOMITES

BY
GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON

With an Introduction by
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TO MY WIFE

HELPFUL COMPANION IN THE EXPLORATION
OF PETRA, AND THE LAND OF EDOM

FOREWORD

NEARLY thirty years have passed since the hope of writing a book on Petra was first conceived. Naturally the desire to do so was begotten through our discovery of the Great High Place, May 3, 1900.

During the first few years of the long period which has intervened, it seemed advisable to wait until we could return to Petra and spend a longer time in studying the numberless monuments of that great Necropolis. And even after a second, and indeed a third, sojourn, in 1907, it remained our persistent conviction that a still more thorough investigation of the ruins would insure greater intelligence, and, therefore, enhance the value of our work. Accordingly, we procrastinated. Time quickly passed as home duties continued, as usual, to press. In due time, however, prospects of a whole year's furlough, in order to accept the Directorship of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, began to dawn. Contentedly, therefore, we waited till 1913-14, when, with five of our students of archæology, we visited Petra for the fourth time. We then repaired to the libraries of the Old World, and in a few months all was ready for the immediate precipitation of the facts, as collected from observation and from books, when, alas! the Great War broke out, and sheathed indefinitely the pen, which is supposed to be "mightier than the sword"!

The years which followed brought with them sorrows, both national and domestic. Perspectives shifted, unexpected duties confronted, and the unfinished task of completing the Petra book remained in *statu quo;* hope, indeed, was almost paralyzed! Fortunately, however, through all the years, more and more light was constantly being shed upon the problem of interpreting the rocks and carvings of the wonderful city, by archæologists and others, who, from time to time, were able to visit Petra, and who published, in one form or another, the results of their explorations. At last in 1928, the way opened again for a return to Petra. From Jerusalem on this trip we motored, via Jericho, Jarash, Ammân, and Ma'ân, all the way to 'Ain Mûsa, which is less than four miles from the heart of the city. Accordingly, the task of writing our book has since been resumed and finished, though not completed! We can only hope that it may possess some of the advantages of a "revised edition"; for, despite all its many possible defects, the conclusions reached and expressed in it are certainly more mature than they would have been had they been published twenty-five years ago.

In writing a book on a theme so far remote from the common highways of life, one is tempted at different points to pause and correct the faulty statements and wrong impressions of others; so many have traveled and seen so little, yet are positive and dogmatic about all they describe. But, even after repeated visits, one still feels that he is "navigating uncharted seas"! We offer our contribution, therefore, not so much to correct, or even to convince, as to register our own impressions of the vast Necropolis! What Petra really needs is not hurried exploration but systematic excavation.

The real importance of Edom is far greater than most men realize. For, to obtain a true perspective of even Israel's history is impossible without some knowledge of Esau's national and religious life. Three of the most beautiful poems of the Old Testament begin with a theophany of Jehovah as coming in the guise of an Armed Warrior, with horses and chariot, bow and quiver, in storm and lightning, out of his desert Olympus—"Sinai," "Seir," "Mt. Paran," "Teman," and "the field of Edom."

For example, Moses, dying, blessed Israel and said:

> Jehovah came from Sinai,
> And rose from Seir unto them;
> He shined forth from mount Paran (Deut. 33:2).

Deborah, also, sang:

> Jehovah, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
> When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
> The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,
> Yea, the clouds dropped water.
> The mountains quaked at the presence of Jehovah, the
> God of Israel (Judg. 5:4, 5).

The prophet Habakkuk, likewise, pictures Jehovah as coming from the same quarter, saying:

> God came from Teman,
> And the Holy One from mount Paran (Hab. 3:3).

Is it not remarkable, indeed, that Edom, which was ever so hostile to Israel, should be chosen by three of Israel's greatest poets, as the place of Jehovah's residence, and as the base from which, as a Divine Warrior, he would manifest himself for the salvation of his people? It might possibly be easier for us to understand why Jehovah should thus be represented as issuing forth in theophanic storm from Edom, were we better acquainted with the history, and especially with the religion of the sons of Esau. These poems remind us that the ancient seats of Jehovah were not in Canaan, but in the far-away south, in Sinai, in Seir, in mount Paran, in Teman, and in the field of Edom. Jehovah, accordingly, in coming to save his people Israel in Canaan, came from the mountains of Seir and Edom. Yet Jehovah was, in a very particular sense, Israel's accepted God. To be sure, Edom had beautiful rocks, more beautiful probably than any Moses ever struck, but no one of the sons of Esau ever saw a burning bush, glowing with the glory of God, as Moses did. The Edomites, as a nation, possessed sages who were celebrated for their wisdom, but they never had seers and prophets to compare with Samuel and Isaiah. The Edomites were especially famous for their wisdom. Job was probably an Edomite and exceedingly wise; otherwise, the Hebrew poet would not have felt at liberty to put such unparalleled wisdom into his mouth. Presumably, therefore, one of the prime causes of the mutual discord, and jealousy, and hatred between the sons of Esau and the children of Jacob was their rivalry of each other in wisdom and religion!

A brief word of appreciation is here in place. In the preparation of this monograph, the author has been assisted by several of his old friends and traveling companions, to all of whom, individually and collectively, he wishes to express his most sincere gratitude: in particular, to the late President Howard S. Bliss of the American University in Beirût, who was ever accounted as a prince among men; and to the late Professor George E. Post, M.D., the renowned botanist and surgeon of Beirût; also, to Professor Stewart Crawford, one of the best Arabicists of the Levant; and to Professor Alfred E. Day, the celebrated Geologist, of the American University in Beirût; also, to Miss Anna Jessup, one of the "elect ladies" of the Presbyterian Mission in Syria; and to Professor Arthur P. Scott, formerly of Beirût, now of the University of Chicago. To all of these choice, greatly beloved and fondly remembered friends, whose friendship has stood the strain of many silent years, the author expresses his fraternal and heartfelt gratitude.

To others, likewise, he feels himself deeply indebted: to

Mr. G. E. Matson of the American Colony of Jerusalem, to whose skill as a photographer are due the splendid photographs which accompany the text, two of them being autochromes of the many-tinted rocks of Petra, the very first ever taken, so far as we know, and reproduced color for color; to the Reverend Howard Renwick Cannon, and to his capable wife, Helen Hancock Cannon, who, with the Reverend Earl Thomas Francis, B.D., have given much needed assistance in the work of reading and correcting the "proof"; also, to Mr. Charles Francis Nims, B.A., who, for the most part, prepared the Indices.

To Thomas Nelson & Sons, the author is indebted for the use freely made in quotation of the American Revision of Holy Scripture, Standard Edition.

INTRODUCTION

By W. F. Albright, Professor of Semitics, Johns Hopkins University. Director of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, 1920-29.

EVER since Petra was discovered by the intrepid Swiss explorer, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, in 1812, its romantic situation and its extraordinary monuments have made it an object of public interest. Most of the volumes published on the subject are either hopelessly antiquated, or they are too technical and cumbersome for the ordinary reader. There is, therefore, need of just such a book as this one, by Professor Robinson, based mainly upon his own explorations and observations in Petra and the vicinity, with constant reference to the work of Brünnow and Domaszewski, Musil, Dalman, Kennedy and others. Owing to the circumstances connected with the writing and printing of the book, as explained by the author, it was not possible for him to enter into detail with regard to the architectural history of Petra, discussed in recent years by Kohl, Wiegand, and Kennedy. This is well, since all current theories are certain to be modified as a result of the excavations at Petra, auspiciously begun by the Mond Expedition in the spring of 1929, under the direction of Mr. George Horsfield, assisted by Miss A. C. Conway, Dr. Dietlef Nielsen, and Dr. T. Canaan.

Thanks to the methodical archæological study of the monuments of Petra, supplemented by that of the pottery, etc., it is now possible, for example, to state with conviction that none of the important monuments of Petra antedate the middle of the first century B.C. No pottery older than the Hellenistic period has so far been found on the site of Petra, and the exact location of the Edomite acropolis, Sela‘, remains unknown. That it was somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the Nabatean city is, however, most probable, as the author has shown.

Professor Robinson has rightly devoted much of his attention to the sanctuaries of the Nabatean capital, several of which were discovered by him. The views which he expresses with regard to their religious function are sober, and in accord with the attitude which prevails among Semitic scholars. Naturally, our material is too uncertain, and there are too many different possibilities, in the present state of our knowledge, for any dogmatism to be prudent. The author's vivid description of ancient religious practices will be, for many, the best possible introduction to this mysterious ancient world of ideas, some of which have become extinct, while others still survive, more or less modified by passing through the refining furnace of Israel. It is altogether probable that the cult of Petra was changed but little by the transition from Edom to Nabat; we should not be misled by the superficial alteration in the names of the reigning deities. Even if it should be proved that none of the high places of Petra actually go back to Edomite times, we should still be justified in employing them for a cautious reconstruction of Edomite religion.

It is well that Professor Robinson has not permitted himself to be drawn into a discussion of the relation between the Horites (or Hivites) of Mt. Seir and the Khurri of Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. In the last five years the problem of the non-Semitic, non-Indo-European people known to scholars as the Khurrians (Hurrians) or Subaræans, has come into the foreground of discussion, thanks to epoch-making new material discovered in the old

Hittite capital Khattusas, east of Angora in Asia Minor, and at Nuzi, near Kirkûk, southeast of Assyria Proper, as well as at al-Mishrifah, ancient Katna in central Syria. Khurrian personal names were borne by many Canaanites of the centuries immediately preceding the establishment of Israel in Palestine; they are found in cuneiform tablets from Shechem and Taanach, belonging to the period 1600-1200 B.C. It is now practically certain that the Egyptian name of Syria, *Khuru* (formerly read *Kharu*), dates from the period of Khurri domination there. It has frequently been suggested that the Septuagintal reading "Horite" is more correct than the Hebrew "Hivite" in Genesis 34:2 and Joshua 9:7, where the population of Shechem and Gibeon is referred to. The recently discovered cuneiform material from Shechem seems to favor this view. However, it would be very rash to assume that the Horites of Mt. Seir belonged to this same non-Semitic race, since all the names ascribed to them in the Bible are clearly Semitic (with one possible exception, *Dishon,* which Speiser has identified with the Hurrian name *Daishenni,* though there is an equally cogent Semitic etymology). Perhaps the Hebrew Bible is right in calling the pre-Edomite inhabitants of Seir "Hivites" (Genesis 36:2), so that "Horite" in chapter 36 is a mistake for "Hivite," a name with an excellent Semitic derivation. However this may be, we are not yet beyond the stage of conjecture.

The relation between Jews and Edomites was always very close, as the author has emphasized. We can only endorse his view that the Book of Job is of Edomite origin; the writer and Dr. Pfeiffer of Harvard University have defended this theory strongly in recent papers. After the Edomites had been driven from their homes in Mt. Seir by the Nabateans, between 700 and 500 B.C., they settled in southern Judæa, as the author justly maintains. However, during the fifth century B.C. they were already under Arab (probably Nabatean) domination, so it would appear that they lost their independence at the same time that they lost their ancient home. Interesting light on conditions in Idumæa during the third century before our era is furnished by the painted tombs of the Sidonian colony founded by Apollophanes at Marisa (Mareshah) in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. A number of Edomite personal names are mentioned in the inscriptions on the walls of these tombs, e.g., Kosnatan, "The God Kos (the archer-god) Has Given." Still more recently, the publication of the papyri from the archives of Zeno, a high official of Philadelphus, whose home was at Gerza in the Faiyûm, has added materially to our knowledge; the names of Idumæan towns like Marisa and Adorea (Adora, ancient Biblical Adoraim, modern Dûra) occur in them a number of times. The Edomites appear to have adopted the ancient beliefs and sacred sites of their Jewish predecessors even before they were forced to embrace Judaism by the Maccabees. The great Idumæan, Herod I, built splendid constructions on the ancient holy sites of Machpelah and Mamre, the latter of which has recently been discovered by Father Mader, in the course of his remarkable excavations at Râmet el-Khalîl, just north of Hebron. These sites were sacred to both Jews and Idumæans, since they were indissolubly connected with their common ancestors, Abraham and Isaac.

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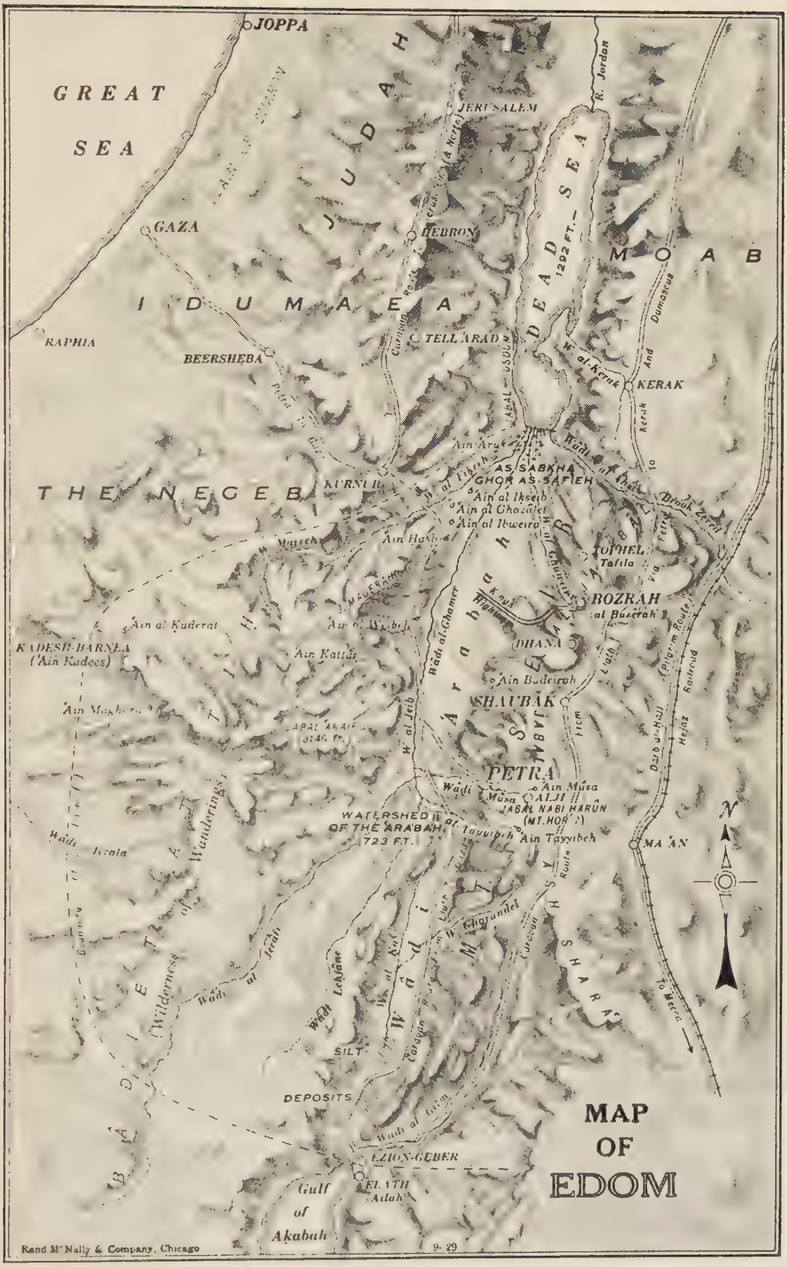

JOPPA
GREAT SEA
JUDAH
JERUSALEM
R. Jordan
DEAD SEA
1292 FT.
GAZA
HEBRON
MOAB
IDUMAEA
RAPHIA
BEERSHEBA
TELL ARAD
W. al-Kerak
KERAK
Ain Arus
AS-SABKHA
GHOR AS-SAFIEH
Wadi al Ahsa
Brook Zered
THE NEGEB
KURNUB
Ain al Ikseib
Ain al Ghazalet
Ain al Ibweira
Ain Hosb
TOPHEL
Tafila
BOZRAH
al Buserah
King's Highway
Arabah
Ain al Kuderat
KADESH-BARNEA
(Ain Kadees)
Ain Kattar
DHANA
Ain Budeirah
SHAUBAK
Wadi al-Ghamer
W. al Jeib
Pilgrim Route
Railroad
Darb al-Hajj
Hejaz
PETRA
Ain Musa
Wadi Musa
ALJI
JABAL NABI HARUN
(MT. HOR ?)
WATERSHED OF THE ARABAH
723 FT.
Ain Tayyibeh
MA'AN
Wilderness of Wanderings
Wadi al Jerafi
Wadi Lehjane
W. Gharandel
Caravan Route
SHARA
Wadi Arabah
To Mecca
SILT
DEPOSITS
Wadi al Itm
EZION-GEBER
ELATH
Ailah
Gulf of Akabah
N
9-29

MAP OF EDOM

Rand McNally & Company, Chicago

I

PETRA

I

THE DISCOVERY OF PETRA

For centuries the wonderful ruins of the rock-city of Petra were quite unknown to the Western world. Volney in 1785, however, seems to have received a hint of their existence from the Arabs around Gaza,[1] and Seetzen in 1806, while on an excursion south from Hebron to the hill Maderah, reports having had an Arab guide of the Ḥuwaitât tribe, who, in attempting to describe a place in far-away Mt. Seir, exclaimed: "Oh, how I weep when I behold the ruins of Wâdi Mûsa"; [2] but neither Volney nor Seetzen continued his journey to the magic spot.

It was left for Burckhardt in 1812 to be the first European traveler to visit the place and to identify the ruins thereof as the ancient capital of Arabia Petræa; [3] though Ritter had already independently suggested the identity on the basis of Seetzen's report.[4] The identity of the two to-day is pretty generally admitted. Historians and geographers of the Middle Ages say nothing of it. No Arabian writer ever mentions "Petra," and the only ones who speak of "Wâdi Mûsa" are Kazwing in the seventeenth century, and Ibn Iyas in the fifteenth; and even they are content to relate a worthless Mohammedan legend to the effect that Moses died and was buried in this valley! Indeed, one of the most remarkable things about Petra is that, after being lost to the thinking world for over a thousand years, when it at length emerges, the biblical names Moses, Aaron, and Pharaoh have, according to Mohammedan tradition, taken possession of the region.

---

[1] *Voyage en Syrie,* etc., 1783-1785, ii, p. 317 (Eng. ed., 1812).

[2] Cf. v. Zach's *Monatliche Correspondenz,* xvii, 1808, p. 136.

[3] Cf. the "Letter" prefixed to his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land in 1810-12,* 1818.

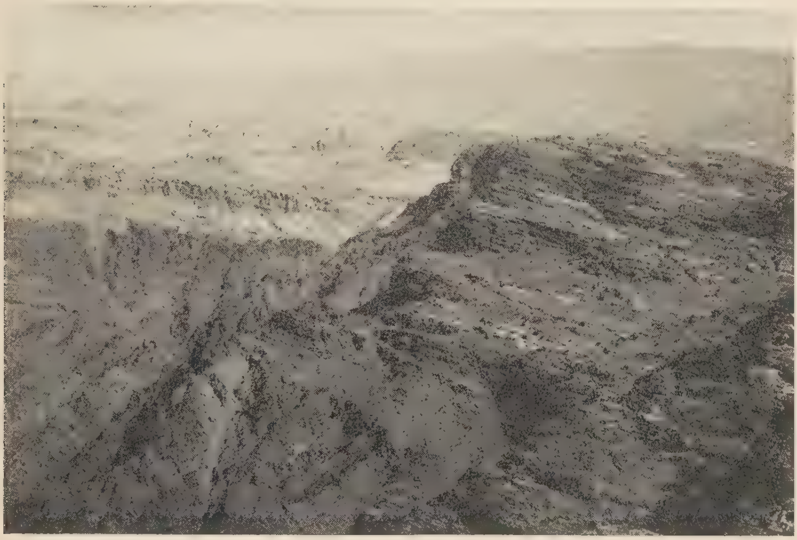
[4] *Erdkunde,* ii, p. 117.

Since Burckhardt's discovery of this wild desert metropolis in 1812, only occasional explorers and a comparatively small number of tourists have ventured to run the risk of visiting its ruins. Among those whose visits have been recorded are Irby and Mangles in 1817-18, Laborde and Lenant in 1828, Stephens in 1836, von Schubert in 1837, Edward Robinson in 1838, John Wilson in 1843, Miss Martineau in 1847, Dean Stanley in 1853, Duc de Luynes in 1864, Visconti in 1865, Palmer in 1870, Doughty in 1875, E. L. Wilson in 1882, Hull, Hart, Armstrong and Kitchener in 1882, Hornstein in 1895, Lagrange, Vincent and Musil in 1896, Brünnow and Domaszewski in 1897, Charles W. Wilson in 1898, the writer in 1900, Dalman in 1904, Libbey and Hoskins in 1902, and Archibald Forder in 1895, and after, whose frequent visits have furnished him the opportunity of securing many very exceptionally fine views.[5]

The Arabs call the valley in which the ruins of this unique city are located Wâdi Mûsa. It is still a question what the Hebrew equivalent of the place may have been; or, whether the name Petra, or its equivalent, ever actually occurs in the Old Testament, *as a proper name*. The supposed Hebrew equivalent is *Sela‘*, meaning "crag," or "cliff" (cf. 1 Sam. 14:4). In at least three passages (Isa. 16:1; 42:11; 2 Kings 14:7), the "sela‘-crag," spoken of, seems to refer to Petra, or Wâdi Mûsa; in any case, the term seems to be used as a proper name. The allusions to a rocky crag in Obadiah 3; Jeremiah 49:16; 2 Chronicles 25:12; Judges 1:36, however, are less certain. According to Jerome this

[5] Cf. his *Petra, Peræa, and Phœnicia,* 1926.

rock-city used to be called Rekem by the Syrians;[6] and Josephus, who already knew it by this name, explains how it was thus called, namely, from a Midianite prince, Rekem, who fell in battle with Israel in the days of Phinehas (Num. 31:8).[7] The Greeks unquestionably knew it as Petra, so Edward Meyer, on the basis of the Septuagint, regards the identification of Petra and Sela' as indisputable.[8] To most authorities this identification is satisfactory. On the other hand, how, or when, the name Petra was dropped by the



(See Chapter I) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

General view of mountains about Petra, looking east from Jabal Nabi Harûn

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[6] The Talmud also speaks of Kadesh as called Rekem; this fact influenced Dean Stanley to identify Petra as Kadesh-barnea, which was quite wrong.

[7] *Antiquities*, IV, 7, 1; Hartmann interprets *rekem* to mean a "heap of stones" (*Die Namen von Petra*).

[8] Wetzstein once suggested that Sela' is another name for Bozrah (cf. Delitzsch, *Jesiah*, pp. 696 ff.).

Arabs, and Wâdi Mûsa adopted, we have no means of ascertaining.

The place is situated in Mt. Seir, a little east and north of the watershed of the ʻArabah, about midway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of ʻAḳabah. The city-site is a large trapezoidal area, quite irregular, in size more than a mile long from northwest to southeast, and half a mile broad. It is bounded on all sides by high and richly colored sandstone rocks, in which there are almost countless cavities, elaborately carved, which may in some cases have been used as dwellings, but for the most part more probably were temples, or tombs. Language falters as it attempts to describe the majestic grandeur and variegated beauty of this "Wonder of the Desert."[9] An artist, named Roberts, confesses in his Journal:

> I did not expect to be much surprised at Petra after seeing Thebes in Upper Egypt. But the whole is far beyond any idea which I had formed of it in both imagination and situation. The entire valley is strewed with ruins, the architecture being a combination of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman. I am more and more bewildered with the aspect of this extraordinary city. Though the ruins of Karnak are immense, they sink into insignificance when compared with these stupendous rocks. I often threw aside my pencil in despair of being able to convey any idea of the scene.

More recently, a missionary from Syria describes his impressions as he approached Petra from the northeast, using language in describing the environs that savors somewhat of the grandiloquent; he says:

> Suddenly there burst into view a wonderful mass of castellated peaks, domes, pinnacles, and other fantas-

---

[9] Strabo describes it as "a city situated in a valley, decorated with gardens and fountains, but bounded on all sides by rocks" (*Lib.* xvi).

(See Chapter I) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Mountains bounding Petra on west

> tic shapes, with indescribable coloring from snow white at the base to purples, and yellows, and crimsons higher up; bathed and transformed in the brilliant sunshine till it seemed like a fairyland. We gazed enchanted; for, somewhere in the heart of this brilliant mass lay the ancient city of Petra, about which we had read and dreamed, and were now to see it with our own eyes.

When carefully explored and studied, the ruins of the city give the impression as of a vast necropolis. Innumerable tombs and temples, rather than dwellings, confront the beholder as he continues to gaze in speechless amazement! Mortuary chapels and elaborate mausolea command the most conspicuous terraces. Hidden in the recesses, or so elevated as to be invisible from the level of the actual city, sanctuaries called by the ancients "High Places" dot here and there the whole. No other place in all the region of Esau's possible migrations so completely satisfies what is related in history of Edom and the Edomites. That the aborigines of the place were unquestionably Troglodytes, or cave-dwellers (Deut. 2:12); that David put garrisons throughout all Edom (2 Sam. 8:13, 14); that Amaziah took Sela' by war (2 Kings 14:7); and that the Nabateans, or Early Arabs, toward the end of the fourth century B.C., took Petra from the Edomites, converted it into a metropolis of desert-caravan trade, embellished it under the influence of the Romans, and made it a refuge of nomad-merchants for upwards of five hundred years—all these statements harmonize perfectly with what we actually find; incarnated, as it were, in the brilliantly adorned, classically embellished, nature-tinted, sandstone rocks of this isolated and now discovered mountain metropolis.

II

THE APPROACH TO PETRA

By the late President Howard S. Bliss, American University, Beirût

PETRA is a place which astonishes and baffles, but above all fascinates.

Your first visit is an event in your life. Elemental feelings stir; again you know what awe is and humility. You have a sense of God's work through man and without man. If you have never experienced the sensation before, here at last you come under the spell of mystery. The place seems so remote, so unrelated to its surroundings—so tenacious of its great secrets—so undiscovered and so undiscoverable.

What other city has been lost for a thousand years and at last, when stumbled upon by accident, has had still so much of its glory left with which to astonish the amazed traveler?

What other place thus happily discovered—it was Burckhardt who identified Petra in 1812—has been recovered only to be practically lost again to the modern world by the hostility of jealous Arabs and the prohibitions incident to an arduous and costly camping trip?

But these obstacles have now been removed. The building of the Hejâz Railway from Damascus southward toward Mecca has effectively tranquillized the region, and Petra may now be reached after a day and a night's ride in the train to Ma'ân and a seven hours' horseback ride over a fairly good road.[1] Fortunately this does not mean, as yet at least, too easy an approach. You must still seek special permission from the government; you must still secure armed escorts; you must still travel with tents; and thus the suggestion of adventure and the sense of distance from the modern world have not been wholly lost. It is still Petra the mysterious which you are seeking, Petra the remote.

Your best approach is from the east. After riding many hours up a gradual incline you have at length gained the top of a great limestone ridge five thousand feet high running north and south. You dismount near a Roman road in order to study the features of the panorama stretching before you. The farthest landscape toward the west includes the hills and mountains and wide plains, all ashy gray in color, of the 'Arabah and the region beyond. A little to the south you can imagine the watershed between the Dead Sea which lies some sixty miles to the northwest, and the Gulf of 'Akabah which lies about the same distance to the south. But interesting as all this is, you hardly notice it at the time, for it is the nearer foreground fifteen hundred feet below you, and an hour's ride from where you stand, that claims your eyes. Here is something in form and color new to your experience. It is a series of jagged sandstone heights running north and south for a length of several miles like a huge embattled wall hundreds of feet high—its contours and especially its coloring presenting a startling contrast to the rounded-off soft limestone gray mountains about you. The rich hues in those natural sandstone ramparts, changing every moment with the changing sun, fascinate you—browns, purples, reds, are

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[1] During the summer season an automobile can bring you, now, as far as 'Ain Mûsa, which is only four miles from the center of the ancient city.

(*See Chapter I*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

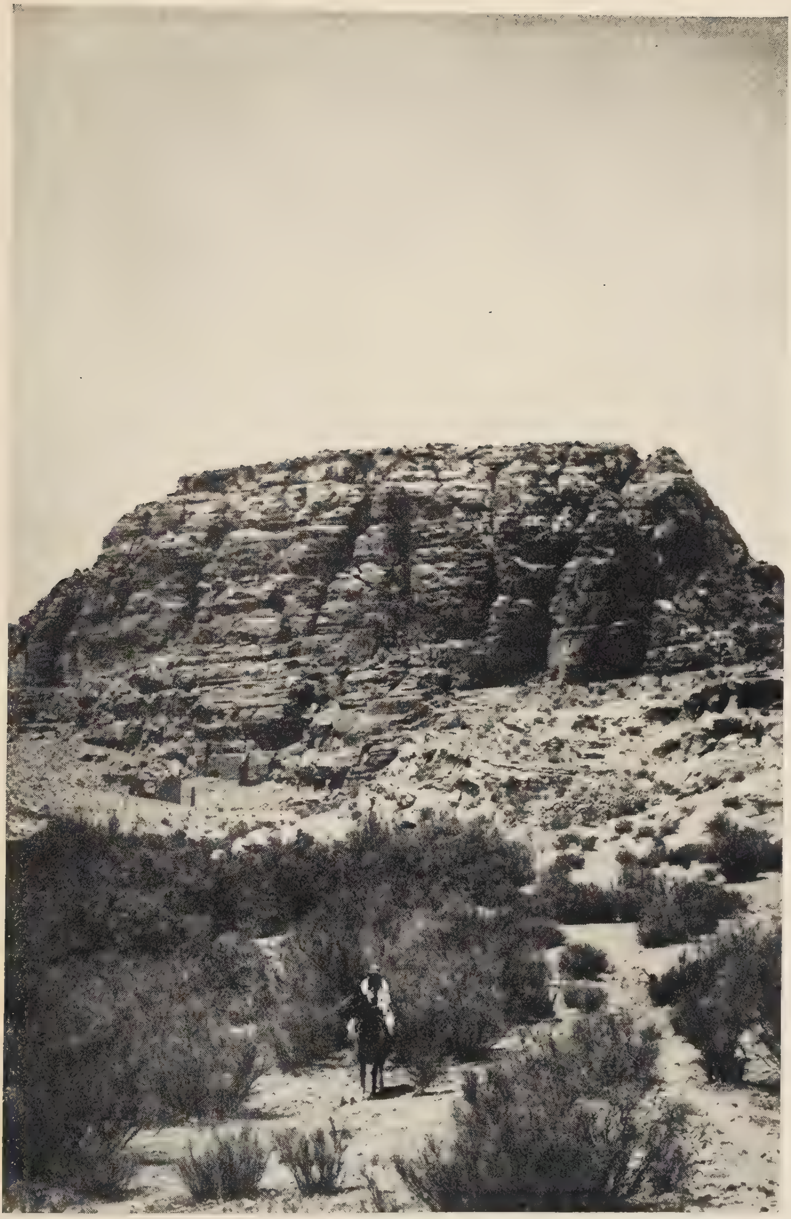
Mountains bounding Petra on north

all there, but not to the exclusion of pearl grays and creamy whites.

Beyond these first huge grotesque masses of sandstone there is evidently—though you cannot see it—something like a plain, say three-quarters of a mile wide, for still farther west another series of sandstone heights, parallel to the first, breaks the skyline with their ragged summits. This second series is loftier than the first and terminates to the south in a peak nearly five thousand feet above the sea, somewhat isolated. You see upon the summit of this peak a tomb with its conventional white rounded dome, and you are told that the high mountain is Mount Hor; that the tomb is the sacred tomb of Aaron; that in that plain between those nearer and those farther sandstone giant walls lies Petra; and that the entrance to Petra is to be found hidden away somewhere in that nearer rampart. You are now eager to remount, you descend the steep valley, pass a refreshing spring and emerge a thousand feet below near the village of Alji. Again you catch sight of Petra's ramparts and the new and nearer view is even more startling and alluring than the first. Below the village you see a stream which has its source a mile or more up a neighboring valley in a characteristic outgush of waters at 'Ain Mûsa. Following it, as your guide, you find yourself in Wâdi Mûsa, the valley of Moses, by which the Arabs have always designated Petra and its neighborhood. You press on but do not see any chance for an outlet, for the valley is closing in upon you, and now just before you is that great mysterious, impenetrable rampart-like mass. The sense of mystery is deepened as you begin to see on either side of the oleander-girt stream the tombs and temples cut out of the pearly gray sandstone. Great masses of dome-shaped rock rise up on either side like sentinels. You long to stop and investigate, but you must first solve that mystery of the brook without an outlet. You have not long to wait. Suddenly, at a turn, the impossible happens; the wall that seemed a minute ago so solidly forbidding is split apart and between two mighty cliffs you descend into a narrow gorge. You do not need to be told that you have reached the famous Sîḳ, for now begins one of the most wonderful walks in the whole world. During uncounted ages that stream has been at work, and for a mile and a quarter you pursue the tortuous channel worn by its waters through the solid mass of sandstone rock. On either side tower precipitous walls, red, brown, purple, one hundred, two hundred, three hundred feet high. At times the sky above you is shut off by the overarching cliffs. At few points is the passage more than four or five yards wide. The little stream which has thus far acted as your guide has now grown weary, like a tired child, and has gone to sleep beneath the limestone pebbles and small bowlders, which winter torrents, no longer under control, have carried hither from the far-off mountain sides. You have not ceased to marvel at the natural wonders of this gorge before your attention is arrested by the many evidences of the fact that it constituted in ancient times a chief approach to the Rock City. You remember to have seen just outside the entrance to the Sîḳ a massive wall and a tunnel serving, as it would seem, to divert the stream from the roadway when the waters had become swollen by the fierce winter rains. A moment ago you noticed two great statueless niches on either side near the point where an arch had been thrown across the chasm. Now you see the cuttings in the rock to which the surface water from the roadway was confined, and above your head are the well-preserved remains of the water pipes which brought water to one section of the city. Here at your feet is a bit of the old paved roadway itself, while numerous votive niches have been cut along the walls of this strangest of city approaches. By this time it is becoming easier to think yourself back two thousand years and more, and the remote and lonely gorge, with its solemn splendor, takes on life. You begin now to see the motley crowd that is pressing to and fro through the narrow passage—people of strange races, Semitics, Greeks, Romans, and of strange religions, mendicants, priests, officials, travelers, caravans, funeral cortèges and holiday makers, afoot, in chariots, or riding gaily caparisoned horses and camels.

You are aroused from your reverie by the awakened brook, which, reappearing from beneath the pebbles, starts again to sing its way along the old watercourse. You perceive that the whirr of the approaching chariot was but the flutter of rock pigeons, while the brilliant oleander blossoms take the place of the gay costumes you were gazing upon a moment ago.

You are now in the narrowest and darkest part of this solitary chasm. The brook's rippling laughter seems almost out of place in this somber passage. And just here, when you least expect it, the culminating wonder suddenly discloses itself. Up to this point there have been few breaks in the perpendicular walls on either side, but now you seem to be emerging from the Sîḳ and entering a transverse gorge. At least you notice that just beyond this last darkest and deepest passage a gleam of light relieves the gloom. You hasten your steps in your desire to see what this means. Suddenly it all breaks upon you; with a clutch at the heart you realize that this is one of the great moments of your life. For there, just opposite you, standing out from the farther wall of this new transverse gorge and flooded with soft light, is an exquisitely wrought temple, its façade carved from the solid sandstone; in its finish like a cameo; in its color like the rose-tinted dawn. Its pro-



(*See Chapter I*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Al-Ḥabîs, the Acropolis of Petra, looking west portions are noble with a height of over ninety feet and a breadth of over sixty; but in that first supreme moment you do not calculate distances, or analyze color values, or balance architectural points, or even interrogate history. Standing there in this place so remote from everything associated with the achievements of civilization, you simply open your amazed, but grateful heart to drink in the glory of this heritage from God and man. The Arabs call it the Khazneh—the Treasury of Pharaoh—but you are told that it is a Temple of Isis, and that it was carved—you cannot say built—in Hadrian's time and under his command, eighteen hundred years ago. You try to imagine what vicissitudes it must have passed through since that bare perpendicular mass of rock was first touched by the skillful workman's tool; but your effort is a vain effort, for surely those approaching footsteps do not belong to the wandering Bedouin—they mean the return of the Roman workmen coming to put the finishing touches upon this marvelous building. Again and again and yet again you must return hither and study it by morning light, by evening light, by moonlight. However viewed, it will always remain one of the chief glories of Petra.

Pursuing your way farther you find that the Sîḳ, after its interruption by the Khazneh transverse valley, continues its majestic course for another quarter of a mile. Rock tombs of all sizes and descriptions appear in increasing numbers to left and right and mysterious flights of steps clamber up the sides of the widening gorge. At length you emerge to find yourself in the open space lying between the eastern and western sandstone bulwarks. This open space between these so-called walls, one half to three quarters of a mile wide, is the site of Petra. The stream runs across this space until, entering the so-called Western Sîḳ, it forces its way down through the western rampart till it reaches the ʻArabah. Its course between the Eastern and Western Sîḳs divides Petra into two sections sloping upward to both north and south where at either end, at a distance of a mile or a mile and a half from the river bed, one finds tumbled masses of sandstone rock.

The city, which occupied the slopes near the river, was approached from north and south as well as through the Eastern Sîḳ. From the west there was no entry. Of the city itself, there are some notable remains and doubtless very much of interest lies hidden under the untouched soil and much that will throw light upon the history of the mysterious place. But whatever may be the result of the great opportunity awaiting the excavator's arrival, the chief interest in Petra must ever center, as it centers to-day, not within the city's limits, but in the rock ramparts which enclose it. Here the interest is twofold. Everywhere cut out from the sides of these multicolored sandstone walls appear, in plain view, hundreds of tombs of all sizes, of many types of architecture, of all degrees of elaborateness, and representing, doubtless, many stages of religious development. Of even greater interest to the student of civilization and religion is the fact that, upon the summit of that southeastern rampart reached by elaborate flights of steps, with its altar pointed in the direction of the mountain believed by the Arabs to be Mount Hor, is the most perfect example of an ancient High Place of Sacrifice to be found in Syria. Nor is this High Place solitary. Both in the Eastern and Western Ramparts are to be found unmistakable places of sacrifice of great importance to the student who is seeking to trace the history of the development of religious ideas and ceremonies in these old civilizations.

Once encamped near the so-called Pharaoh's Castle, not far from the entrance to the Western Sîḳ or near the great

Roman theater close to where the river bed emerges from the Eastern Sîḳ, your days are crowded with many and varied occupations. Exploration, investigation, discovery in the interest of archæology, epigraphy, topography, natural history, offer opportunities suited to every taste, and awaken extraordinary enthusiasm. The dry air and the cool nights make hard work feasible and delightful even in midsummer. There is always the sense of remoteness, promoted by the absence of any fixed dwellers in Petra, and by the presence of guards and guides. There is always the sense of pioneering for it will be years before the surrounding mountains and hills and valleys will be adequately examined and mapped. The element of danger is not absent, if not from the Arabs who have recently given up their marauding attacks, at least in view of the difficulties of the mountain ascents and the liabilities of getting lost in the network of countless ravines. The spirit of discovery becomes engrossing as one comes across an unknown inscription—Nabatean, Greek, Latin—or finds a tomb offering some peculiarity not heretofore noticed, or traces the contours of a new Place of Sacrifice. One may spend his morning extracting from the cautious Arab the unrecorded legends of the region, and the afternoon collecting rare plants or trapping new lizards. The hunter may get a shot at a gazelle, an ibex, a wild cat, a coney, partridges. The geologist is concerned with the solution of some especially interesting problem suggested by the strange topography of the region. The Crusaders' Castle of al-Wu 'aira, the magnificent temple of ad-Dair and the reputed sepulcher of Aaron on Jabal Harûn must, of course, be visited. Everywhere the lover of color is amazed at the extraordinary variety of hues displayed at every turn and seeks, and vainly seeks, to transfer to his block of canvas their elusive charm.

III

THE PETRA DISTRICT

THE mountain chain of ash-Shara‘, in which Petra is secretly nestled, is the southmost section of that long range of mountains which runs from Mount Hermon in Syria to the Red Sea; the same is Mount Seir.[1] The stretch of this chain of mountains included in Edom, extends some one hundred and twelve miles from Wâdi al-Ḥasi to the Gulf of ‘Aḳabah, and is from twenty-five to thirty miles broad. On the east, the range rises gently and in parts almost imperceptibly from the Arabian Desert, but sinks rapidly, with varying degrees of abruptness, into the deep ‘Arabah Valley on the west. Its elevation above sea level varies from four to upwards of five thousand feet, which is considerably higher than the mountains of Gilead or Moab. On the top of this broad mountain range are two narrow ridges: one, of Archean granite with veins of basalt and porphyry, beginning at a point not far west of Petra and extending far south along the eastern edge of the Gulf of ‘Aḳabah and the Red Sea; the other, a narrow ridge of Nubian limestone which begins near the south end of the Dead Sea and runs south as far as Madaïn Sâliḥ and

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[1] According to G. A. Smith (*Expositor,* 1908, p. 516), the name *ash-Shara‘* has nothing etymologically to do with Seir, as has been sometimes supposed. He suggests, rather, that it may be derived from the Arabic root *shara‘,* meaning "to be exposed to the air and the sun, so as to become dry." Dalman more reasonably takes it from the name of the Nabatean deity, Dushara‘, the chief god of Petra, meaning "He of Shara‘" (*Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 49). But whatever its etymology, both ash-Shara‘ and Mount Seir refer to the same general range of mountains.

Madînah, and even beyond. These two ridges lie close to each other and form the crescent of mountains and peaks which encircle Petra.

The whole district is singularly well watered; numerous springs emerge from between the porous upper strata and the more impervious lower strata, and also at the union of the latter with the sandstone. That the whole region is well watered, or was, attest the ruins of the little forts and blockhouses, which at one time most certainly served as guardhouses of their water supply; they also witness to a large population formerly in these parts. Ma'ân was then one of the chief towns of the district.

Two rather copious streams drain the area: one, the Wâdi al-Jamal, descending from the Râs al-Ḥatti on the south of the modern village of Alji which is located about two miles east of Petra; and the other, Wâdi Mûsa, which comes down from the heights of al-Rasîf, its waters being augmented by those of 'Ain Mûsa, or "the Spring of Moses" which is about two miles northeast of Alji. These two streams unite at a point not far below Alji, and flow on, under the name of Wâdi Mûsa, through a great geological cleft, called the Sîḳ, into Petra, thus supplying the inhabitants of the ancient city with a goodly supply of fresh water. Upon leaving the city, the surplus waters of Wâdi Mûsa find escape through a canyon, broader than the Sîḳ, called by the Arabs as-Sîyagh, which cleaves the western sandstone boundary of the city site, and conducts the overflow down the precipitous mountain sides into the 'Arabah.

The climate of ash-Shara' is delightful and correspondingly healthful. Burckhardt, the original explorer in these parts, describes the conditions thus:

> The climate of all these mountains is extremely agreeable; the air is pure, and although the heat is

(See Chapter I) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Waterfall in Wâdi Sîyagh

> very great in summer . . . yet, the temperature never becomes suffocating, owing to the refreshing breeze which generally prevails. I have seen no part of Syria in which there are so few invalids. . . . The winter is very cold; deep snow falls, and the frosts sometimes continue till the middle of March. The severe weather is doubly felt by the inhabitants, as their dress is little fitted to protect them from it.[2]

This general description is confirmed by Irby and Mangles, who speak of "the excessive cold" of the winter; and by Palmer, who tells of his own sufferings in the month of April, when, he says,

> in the night we were visited by a severe storm of snow and sleet; and, as our camp was 4700 feet above sea-level, we found ourselves unable to leave the spot. With six inches of snow on the ground, several feet of the same constantly drifting into our little tent, and no materials whatever for making a fire, our position was not an enviable one.[3]

Charles Wilson, also, describes the climate of these mountains as colder than that of Palestine, snowstorms being not uncommon in winter and spring; the temperature in summer being hot at midday, but the nights being always cool.[4] Musil, likewise, reports that on the east slope of the Jabal ash-Shara‘, about ten miles southwest of Ma‘ân, at an altitude of forty-two hundred feet, the snow had lain in the winter of 1898 for four days in such masses that it was impossible for the Arabs to leave their tents.[5] The present writer, also, having spent several days in each of the months, March to August, inclusive, can bear witness that the climate has always been temperate; never having experienced any special discomforts from either excessive heat or cold.

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[2] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* 1822, p. 402.

[3] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, pp. 369-372.

[4] *Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement,* 1899, p. 309.

[5] *Arabia Petræa,* i, *Edom,* 1907, pp. 269-270.

The products of the ash-Shara‘ district, in keeping with its different altitudes, are not altogether negligible. Forests and fruit trees are not wholly wanting. The land being fairly well watered, nature has furnished the people of Edom in general, and of ash-Shara‘ in particular, with hardwood trees, and many others that bear fruit. For example, there are in these mountains numerous groves of evergreen oak, of different varieties, especially the Butm, or Terebinth. Between Shaubak and Petra the trees are so numerous and extensive one feels, as he rides along, that he is in the midst of an ancient and widespreading forest. The trunks of many of them are often two and three feet in diameter, their branches being often lopped off by the goats, and the Arabs. Musil describes an oak forest in the northern section of ash-Shara‘ as so extensive that in riding eastward it required over an hour and a half to pass through.[6] Around Petra junipers and oleanders are quite common. Fruit trees near villages are always in evidence. The now scanty orchards about Alji give indications of a once far greater yield of olives, figs, apricots, pomegranates, grapes, and other fruits. The carob and mulberry are also found in these parts as in Palestine; only in less abundance. The districts of ash-Shara‘, and al-Jabal to the north produce considerable quantities of almonds and olives; but, according to Dalman, the olives are of a decidedly inferior quality to those of Palestine.[7] Of the fruit-bearing trees in the gardens about Ma‘ân, Doughty pictures their "boughs as hanging over the clay orchard walls into the inhuman desert." [8]

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[6] *Arabia Petræa,* i, *Edom,* p. 299.

[7] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 1.

[8] *Arabia Deserta,* i, 1888, p. 33.

But the Arabs in these parts to-day, like the ancient Edomites, live generally in shepherd simplicity, roaming with their flocks of sheep and goats over the broad prairies, and watching jealously every possible encroachment from without. Their shaikhs pose in the attitude of luxury, but at best they can afford only a modest number of tents, twenty to thirty, while the people generally eke out a sorry existence amid the crags and rocks of the region, their children running naked or clad in the merest rags. Poverty reigns, and suspicion of foreigners naturally follows. For the majority, coarse bread, water, and goat's milk are the staples; though a few figs and raisins and pomegranates are sometimes enjoyed.[9] Dried acorns and the berries of the terebinth are often gathered and eaten; also, the black fruit of the juniper which they manufacture into a sweetmeat.[10] The long thick grass, which grows in these mountains and which continues green till the end of May, furnishes pasture for sheep, goats and oxen of which there are large numbers. Doughty declares that the greatest sheep flocks he has ever seen in all his desert travels were here in the rocky coomb-land of Edom between Shaubak and Petra; also, that much of the high stony back of the ash-Shara‘ range is arable, as are many of its hillsides, while "in the best-sheltered places are corn plots of the neighboring villagers, nourished only by the rain. Some outlying fallows are tilled by a kind of nomad peasantry, dwelling hereabouts in tents at all times, and not accounting themselves Bedouins. . . . They inhabit the soil in peace, for they pay the 'brothership' to all Bedouins, even to those by Madaïn Sâliḥ, two hundred miles to the southward; thus, as no one preys upon them they increase continually." "I think I have seen," he continues, "flocks of five hundred head couched at night before some tents of their house-

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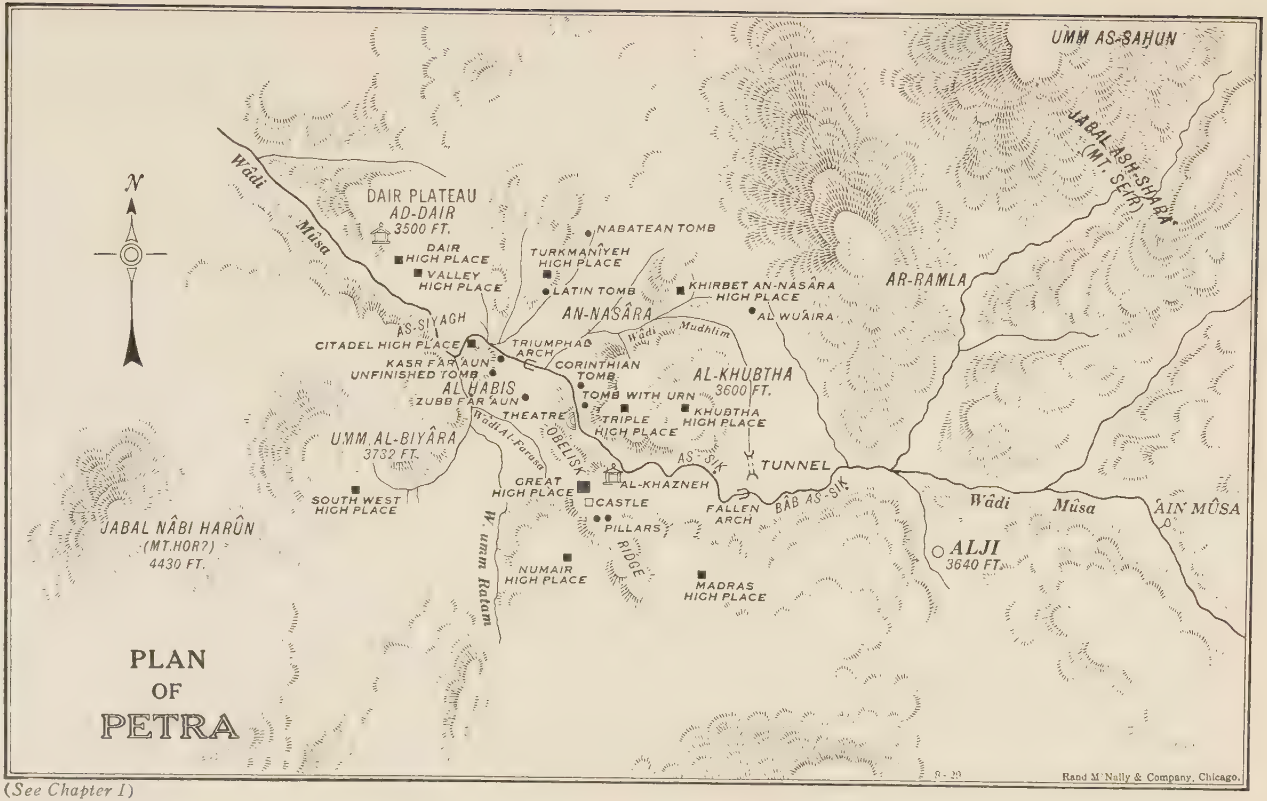
[9] Cf. Philby, in Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 3.

[10] Cf. Musil, *Arabia Petræa,* i, *Edom,* pp. 37, 38.



PLAN OF PETRA

N
UMM AS-SAHUN
JABAL ASH-SHARA
(MT. SEIR)
AR-RAMLA
DAIR PLATEAU
AD-DAIR
3500 FT.
Wâdi Mûsa
DAIR HIGH PLACE
VALLEY HIGH PLACE
NABATEAN TOMB
TURKMANIYEH HIGH PLACE
LATIN TOMB
KHIRBET AN-NASÂRA HIGH PLACE
AL WUAIRA
AN-NASÂRA
Wâdi Mudhlim
AS-SIYAGH
CITADEL HIGH PLACE
TRIUMPHAL ARCH
KASR FAR'AUN
UNFINISHED TOMB
CORINTHIAN TOMB
AL-KHUBTHA
3600 FT.
AL HABIS
ZUBB FAR'AUN
TOMB WITH URN
KHUBTHA HIGH PLACE
THEATRE
TRIPLE HIGH PLACE
UMM AL-BIYÂRA
3732 FT.
Wâdi Al-Farasa
OBELISK
AS-SIK
TUNNEL
GREAT HIGH PLACE
AL-KHAZNEH
CASTLE
FALLEN ARCH
BÂB AS-SIK
SOUTH WEST HIGH PLACE
PILLARS
RIDGE
W. umm Ratam
NUMAIR HIGH PLACE
MADRAS HIGH PLACE
ALJI
3640 FT.
ÂIN MÛSA
JABAL NÂBI HARÛN
(MT. HOR?)
4430 FT.
9-23
Rand McNally & Company, Chicago.

(See Chapter I)

holds. . . . These high borders were anciently hardly less peopled than the best parts of settled Syria at this day."[11] But, of course, the most productive parts of all are the broader wâdies, and numerous basins watered by rivulets from the springs. Frequently one finds rock-cut conduits which in different parts, particularly on the western slopes make possible gardens of lentils, onions, garlics and various other vegetables; all of which is in strict keeping with the blessing pronounced upon Esau by his father when he said: "Behold of the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling" (Gen. 27:39).

The inhabitants of this district to-day belong to a small semi-independent tribe called Liyâthina.[12] Like the neighboring tribe of Na'aimat, who till the soil on the eastern slopes of Mount Seir, they have affinities with their powerful eastern neighbors the Ḥuwaitât tribe which occupies not only the northwestern corner of Arabia, but also parts of Sinai and Egypt. According to Philby, who until recently was the chief British representative in Transjordania,

> this tribe is split up into several sections quite independently of each other, but so far as Petra is in question, we are concerned only with one of them, namely, the important section of Jawâzi, which under

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[11] *Arabia Deserta,* i, p. 39.

[12] That the Liyâthina Arabs about Petra are the descendants of Simeonites who settled in Edom is improbable, as their immigration into the country dates after the Mohammedan conquests. Palmer prefers to think of them as sprung from the sons of Leith (*leith* in Arabic signifying a lion, pointing to the tribe of Judah, whose symbol was a lion), a lineal descendant of Ka'ab, and a branch of the Kheibari Jews, who resided near Mecca, and played so important a part in the early history of Islam. The Kheibari are still found in large numbers about Mecca and Madînah, and are much dreaded by the Ḥajj caravans, as they invariably rob and murder any unarmed stragglers. The Liyâthina retain, says Palmer, not only the distinct physiognomy, but many of the customs, of the Jews, such as wearing the Pharisaic love-locks. (*The Desert of the Exodus,* pp. 363-364; cf. Burton, also, *The Gold Mines of Midian,* p. 323 n.)

its well-known and powerful Shaikh, Ḥammâd ibn Jâzi, ranges northwards from Ma'ân to Tafîla. Ḥammâd in virtue of some unrecorded right, exercises a vague authority over both Na'aimat and Liyâthina, but the latter never explicitly admit the fact, though they implicitly recognize it at suitable seasons by the tendering of presents to an overlord, any tendency on whose part to interfere within the confines of the Petra district with their effective independence would be resented and resisted by force of arms. The Liyâthina are, therefore, in effect masters in their own house.

Under the Turkish government, Wâdi Mûsa formed a subdistrict, or Mudirîya of the Ma'ân district of the Province of Syria. But since the end of the war, it has with the neighboring subdistricts of Shaubak, 'Aḳabah and Tabûk, been loosely included in the new kingdom of the Hejâz, and nominally governed by the Ḳaim-maḳam, or district governor of Ma'ân. In 1923, however, a Liyâthina Shaikh was appointed as Mudîr of the district; and it was hoped that King Ḥusain would officially raise the district to the status of a province, or Wilâyat, but the Waḥḥibi attack on Mecca in the autumn of 1924, which resulted in the abdication of King Ḥusain, checked the expected progress of these administrative changes; the result being that the British government suggested to the new King of the Hejâz, 'Ali ibn Ḥusain, that the Ma'ân province should be transferred to Transjordania, as a part of the British mandate, for its greater security against Waḥḥibi attacks. Though this proposal was "not palatable" to King 'Ali, it was in due time finally accepted and to-day the district of Petra is still ruled by Emir 'Abdullah of Transjordania and Great Britain holds the mandate over it.[13]

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[13] Such was the status, politically and officially, in March, 1929. Cf. Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 3, 4. For a very satisfactory, detailed, and well-illustrated description of the ruins of Udhra, see Brünnow and Domaszewski's *Die Provincia Arabia,* i, pp. 433-479.

In former times, only when a strong authority ruled the district from Petra, or some other center, and protected the highways east and west; or, when the Roman *limes* protected the eastern border, were the mountain plateau and its slopes toward the desert safeguarded against the nomad swarms of Arabia. These *limites,* or boundaries, of the Romans are easily traceable from ‘Ain Najal (the Roman station of Negla, near Shaubak) to ‘Anaisa, a point some twenty miles north of Ma‘ân on the Hejâz Railway, and thence south to two springs called Jarba, beyond which at no great distance the *limites* reach the important and imposing *castrum* of Udhra. At various points along this boundary, Roman milestones, patches of basalt pavement, and the remains of several elaborate *castra* may be traced. From Udhra the *limites* run south past the springs of al-Basta, and Khirbet al-‘Ail, to Khirba Sadaḳa, which is another *castrum* both massive and extensive, with much ancient pottery lying about. The old boundary extended farther south via the Springs of Abal Lisân, through the pass of Naḳb al-Ishtar, and on to ‘Aḳabah.

Now, between these *limites* of the Romans, thus described, and the sandstone heights of the mountains round about Petra are the three ridges of the main range of ash-Shara‘, or Mount Seir, which rise from east to west, in a series of progressively increasing heights to an altitude of more than five thousand feet above sea level. When the crest of the range is passed the western slope falls in rapidly descending terraces with deep valleys, from the hollow of Petra itself, which is nearly two thousand feet below the backbone of the range at its highest, to the low level of the ‘Arabah which bounds the Petra District on the west. Thus, fortified by castles on the east, the north and the south, and by nature on the west, the inhabitants of this mountainous region were protected against the predatory

(See Chapter II) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

'Ain Mûsa

tribes of the desert, and accordingly developed into a strong Edomite state, having had at least eight successive kings "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. 36:31-39).

And so, because of Petra's isolation and protection, she became the ideal clearing house for the commerce of the ancient desert and the whole civilized world of that time. Indeed, as early as the sixth century B.C., Petra began to be recognized as a cosmopolitan emporium for Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Under the Nabatean rulers and the eagle of Imperial Rome, she enjoyed almost unique glory, grandeur and preëminence for a period of almost one thousand years. But her prosperity engendered pride! Even in Old Testament times the Hebrew prophets began to warn the Edomites against their pride and feelings of security: "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock (i.e., Sela', Petra), whose habitation is high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? . . . I will bring thee down from thence, saith Jehovah" (Obad. 3, 4; Jer. 49:16).

IV

THE SUBURBS OF PETRA

THE city of Petra is nestled among forbidding and very inaccessible mountains. One wonders how Burckhardt in 1812 ever found an entrance to it! Centuries ago the Psalmist ejaculated in longing bewilderment, "O to be brought to the fortified city! O to be led into Edom!"[1] From the general character of its surroundings, one would not expect to find so great a metropolis so snugly hidden among the mountains.

There are, however, three probable entrances to the city; one from the east via Wâdi Mûsa and through the Sîḳ; another, from the north via Wâdi Turkmanîya; and a third, from the southwest, along the base of Jabal Harûn. The first is by far the most convenient and enchanting route. Under modern conditions (either by motor to 'Ain Mûsa, or, as far as Ma'ân by train and thence to 'Ain Mûsa, overland) this is the best and to-day the regular approach, enjoying the advantage of bringing the visitor with thrilling abruptness to the very verge of the mountain crest. The view from the heights of ash-Shara', in the early morning hours especially, is delectable! The other routes from the 'Arabah, entering the city, either from the north or south, are steep and rocky, and impracticable for camel transport.

There are likewise three principal suburbs to the city: (1) Ar-Ramla, or Bâb as-Sîḳ, i.e., the area lying on the east, between Petra and the little village of Alji. (2) Al-Baidha and al-Bârid on the north, some five miles distant, of imposing beauty, and at one time probably an important business emporium. (3) Wâdi Sabra, also about five miles to the south of Petra, once apparently a military outpost of the Romans; having a copious fountain and marked by extensive ruins of barracks and theater. All three suburbs are thus closely related to Petra.

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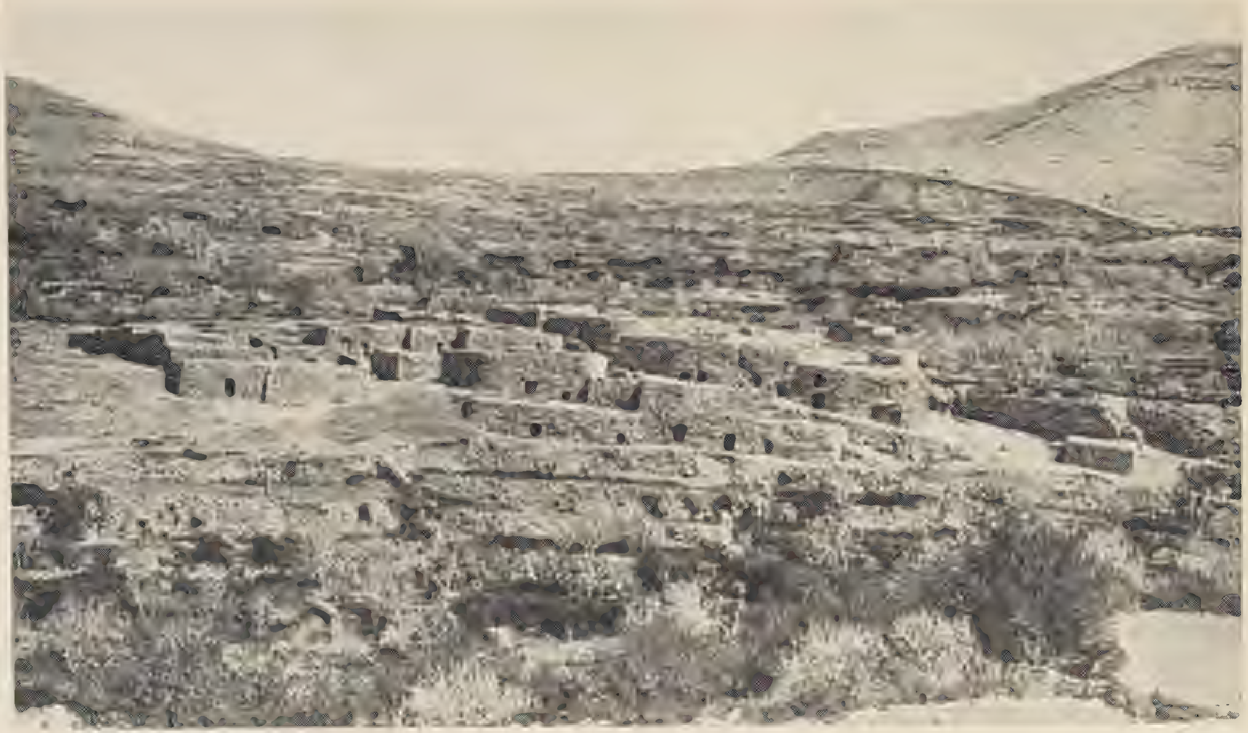
[1] J. E. McFadyen's rendering of Pss. 60:9; 108:10, *The Psalms in Modern Speech and Rhythmical Form,* 1916.

(1) Ar-Ramla is the name of the area around the entrance to the city from the east. Here the cretaceous ridge of limestone gives way to sandstone, the latter being also white and rounded into dome-like shapes. Through it from east to west flow the waters of Wâdi Mûsa, which, in the Sîḳ, becomes a deep narrow gorge, over a mile long, with high over-hanging rocks on both sides. Deep lateral canyons in the Ramla area slope toward Wâdi Mûsa from both sides, draining the Wu'aira region on the north and the Madrâs region on the south. The village of Alji and the two streams, one on either side, that irrigate its orchards and vineyards, are the heart of the area. The Wâdi bed and banks below Alji are well watered and are accordingly thickly covered with oleanders; the whole valley bottom in winter being indeed almost marshy in parts. At all seasons this valley provides rich grazing for the horses and mules, cattle, sheep and goats of Alji. Just north of the Wâdi there is an ancient reservoir known as al-Birka. It stands near the eastern edge of the Ramla area. It is built partly out of the natural rock and partly of the huge, almost Cyclopean, blocks of human masonry. In Roman times aqueducts seem to have conducted the waters of this pool northwestwardly along the Canyon of Sha'îb al-Ḳais into the city. The channels for the most part were cut in the rocks which bound the Wâdi, but where it was necessary as at al-Ḳantara, they were conveyed over the openings of



(See Chapter II) (Photograph by the Author)

Alji

side ravines by masonry. In this valley there are evidences also of an ancient highway, as in the Sîḳ; also, emblems of Nabatean cult.

Close by in the same general locality is a Wâdi called by the Arabs al-Mudhlim, the name suggesting, "the valley of the shadow," a dark valley like that of which the shepherd-poet speaks in Psalm 23:4. It, too, was a valley of "deep darkness"! To the south of the head of this valley is a tunnel, some three hundred feet long, twenty feet wide, and approximately twenty-five feet high. This tunnel is thought by Kennedy to have been a natural opening.[2] It certainly is crude in its construction if cut by human hands. But whether a "natural feature" or "rock-hewn," its probable use was to carry off the floods of water that occasionally came down from the eastern range of ash-Shara', which, without this diversion, would have quite choked the passage of the Sîḳ and rendered it as a passage way impossible.

Above the tunnel, northeast a short distance, are the ruins of the castle of al-Wu'aira, which, if not actually built by the Crusaders, was recaptured by Baldwin III in 1144 A.D., after a prolonged siege.[3] This stronghold was finally lost by the Crusaders to Saladin in 1188-89, and never recovered. Rounded arches and vaulted chambers are found among the ruins; also, the apse of what is supposedly a Crusaders' church. The castle was fortified by a low wall which ran along on the eastern side, and looks toward ash-Shara'; it was from this side only that an attack could be successfully made.[4]

(2) Al-Baidha ("the white") and al-Bârid ("the cold") constitute the second suburb of Petra. These are located

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[2] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 15, 73.

[3] Cf. William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum,* xvii, 6 (A.D. 1144).

[4] For a detailed description of the ruins at al-Wu'aira, see Musil, *Arabia Petræa,* ii, *Edom,* 1907, pp. 59ff.

some five miles to the north of the city. Al-Bârid is an offshoot or side-valley of al-Baidha, and is entered by a narrow cleft known as the Sîḳ of al-Bârid. Travelers are wont to regard this suburb as the regular halting place of all caravans en route to Palestine.[5] As the Ramla tract formed the approach to the ceremonial entrance of the city, so the Baidha suburb, athwart the only road leading to the principal marts of Palestine, bears abundant signs of having been a position of great importance.[6] Sepulchral monuments and temples are here to be found, it is true, but they are few in number compared with the warehouses and offices of merchants, and the numerous reservoirs for the storage of water. This suburb possessed, it seems, not only commercial but also political importance.

A narrow, but well-cut, rock-hewn road in a wâdi called Ma'aisarat al-Wasta runs north to al-Baidha from Petra, along which there are here and there idol-niches, shrines, and even High Places; also, remnants of fort foundations. But the main thoroughfare between Petra and al-Baidha is Wâdi Turkmanîya, by which one leaves the high mountains of Ma'aisarah on the west, and soon enters the broad plain drained by Wâdies Manâtt al-Dhib and Abu Ruka', the waters of which flow south.

On the southern edge of the area is a tomb excavated out of a detached rock block some twenty feet high, which is approached by a flight of steps. This whole broad, white region, which slopes toward the south and west, is known to the Arabs as Sutûh Baidha, or "White Plains." Scattered over these are masses of tumuli and rock, many of which contain burial chambers, niches, and reservoirs. The outstanding monument of the whole area is an enormous reservoir, some forty feet long by thirty feet wide and forty feet deep. A rather dangerous flight of steps to climb, cut into the south side of the great rock in which the reservoir is found, leads up to its top. By another flight it is possible to descend into the reservoir itself. A roof once covered it, as the supporting walls reaching about halfway across the cavity would indicate. Above the reservoir some distance to the east, and not far from Râs al-Khaur, lies the little village of Dibdiba surrounded with terraces of olive and other fruit trees. The winds blow betimes over the Baidha region with great fierceness, as the writer knows from personal experience.

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[5] Palmer (*The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 378) regarded al-Bârid as "undoubtedly Horite in its origin (as the excavations are obviously in this case *all* dwellings), but as occupied by later peoples."

[6] So Philby, in Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 15.

To the west of this reservoir, and not very far away, is a narrow gorge known as the Sîḳ al-Bârid. It cleaves a ridge of sandstone from northeast to southwest, and leads into an exquisitely beautiful natural alcove of rock, which, according to Philby, "owing to its easily defensible character, was selected by the ancients as the principal business street of the suburb." At the right of the entrance, on the outer side, stands a classical mausoleum of singular grace and beauty, having a low flight of steps, which lead up to the door. The tomb chamber is ten feet long by six feet wide, and fifteen feet high. The façade is flanked by pilasters surmounted by Nabatean capitals; likewise the door.

The length of the Bârid gorge entrance is about one hundred and fifteen feet. It is quite narrow; indeed, it is at present partially blocked by a great mass of fallen rock. The entrance is equipped with sockets which indicate that it was originally closed by means of a gate. The boundary rocks are about one hundred feet in height. On the inner side, the gorge soon widens out into a street whose rock walls, on either side, furnish by their ornamentation evidence of having been excavated for temples, offices, ware-

(See Chapter II) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Mountains about Petra, looking west from Alji houses, reservoirs and residences. Some are two or even three stories high, with rock-carved staircases leading up to themselves, and in some cases beyond themselves to higher monuments beyond. Leading to the various reservoirs is an elaborate system of runnels, aqueducts and chutes, evidently intended to assist in collecting the water from the hillsides round about. On the left-hand side of the gorge, and not far distant from the entrance rises a temple building, which, in simplicity of line and beauty, ranks high among the monuments of the Petra region. Farther along, on a projecting promontory, is an elaborate High Place. On the opposite side of the street, a little distance away, there are three large chambers, with façades and pilasters, and beveled capitals, whose rear wall carries niches and sockets to hold idols, probably. Nearly opposite these three caverns on the other side of the street, steps lead up to another High Place, equipped as usual with a reservoir, runnels, a niche, and in this case a *loculus* containing a diminutive idol. And a little farther along, on the same side of the street, is a *biclinium,* approached by a stairway, possessing a rectangular chamber and alcoves whose walls are painted with scenes of revelry, and probably intended, Philby thinks, to represent Orpheus (or, perhaps a woman) in a state of nudity, seated, with his hair flowing down his back and playing on a pipe or some such instrument; two Cupids, also, one drawing a bow, and the other leaping and dancing; and a nude female figure, and three birds amid a bower of vines with bunches of grapes. Close by, on the opposite side of the street, is another High Place, with tank, aqueducts, and also seats forming an open-air *biclinium.*

The Sîḳ of al-Bârid comes to an end with a long and steep flight of steps running up between high and precipitous flanks of rocks, from whose top, looking southwest, one obtains a magnificent view of the surrounding wilderness of crags and peaks. The extreme length of the Sîḳ al-Bârid gorge is approximately a quarter of a mile. As its name implies, it is a nook comparatively cool, being shaded by the white sandstone rocks which surround it; its natural beauty being quite exceptional. As it possesses no exit its narrow entrance could be easily defended; accordingly, it was a sort of natural fortress, in a nook of unparalleled security for merchants and tradesmen. In case of siege, the residents, having large cisterns, were amply provided with water. Indeed, the whole suburb is "really wonderful" (as we recorded in our Journal).

(3) As-Sabra is the other suburb of Petra, remaining to be described. It lies to the south of the city, two hours' distance, or about five or six miles, in a rugged valley which drains on the south the watershed of ash-Shara'. High cliffs rise above it on the east. Its own altitude, however, is only about 2,540 feet above sea-level. The two other suburbs of al-Baidha and ar-Ramla are approximately 3,650 feet, while Petra is 2,775. Thus, as-Sabra is the lowest of all; in size, also, it is the smallest.

Its chief interest, and its attraction of greatest importance, is the perennial spring which it possesses. A small rivulet flows from it westward round the southern flank of Jabal Harûn. Near-by the spring, the Romans evidently built a military outpost for the defense of the city against the South. Ruins extending fully two hundred yards are found in the near vicinage. And close by also there are the remains of an old fort, or barracks. At the mouth of the Wâdi which comes down from the ash-Shara' mountains, the Romans carved out of the mother rock, so far as it was possible, a theater, the tiers of seats being in most cases cut out of the sandstone rock; some, however, are of detached stones, the uppermost tiers being carved from blocks of limestone and supplied with backs. As the bed of the ravine came down under the very center of the theater, they bridged over the Wâdi between the two wings of the playhouse, placing thereon seats which were imported; thus the water of the ravine was allowed to escape underneath.

Both the theater and the fountain seem to have attracted many visitors, some of whom naturally became permanent residents. These together with merchants and others, and the soldiers stationed to guard the city, must have formed a considerable colony. The place being lower in altitude than Petra, and therefore presumably warmer, it is quite possible, as has been suggested, that the inhabitants of Petra and the surrounding districts resorted thither "desiring a change of air, or a holiday." And so it may have served as a kind of winter resort! It is improbable that it ever was a place of permanent residence for many. There are few cuttings in the rocks, and few other ruins, which could in any sense have been used as residences, and there are still fewer tombs! The rocks are of red sandstone.

According to Philby, who writes from a military point of view, "the Air Survey of Petra has disclosed the existence of a second broad valley, apparently descending from southwest to northeast through the sandstone block, lining the east or left bank of the Wâdi. From its position and general appearance it would seem likely that it is traversed by a practicable route, and, therefore, needed guarding against an enemy." And he concludes that "the investigation of this great ravine may turn out to be the most interesting piece of work which still remains to be done in Petra." [7]

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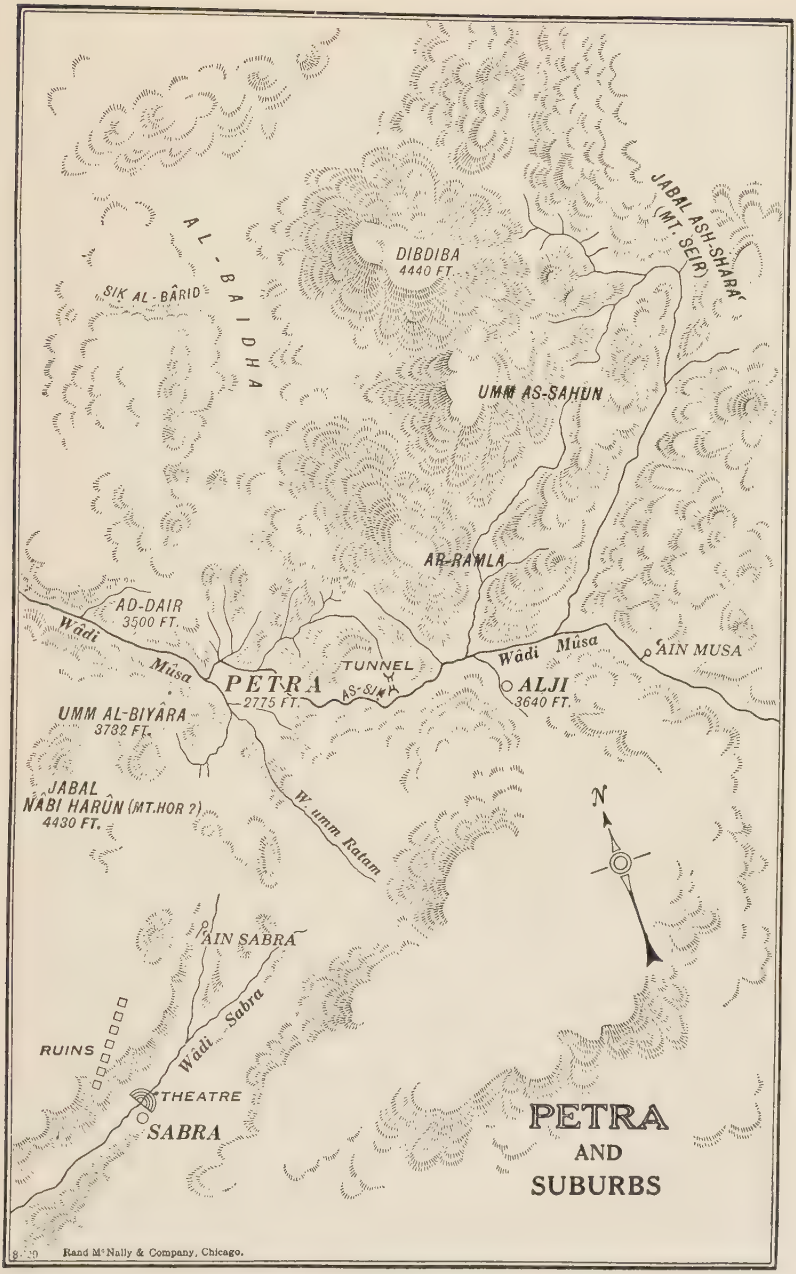
[7] Philby, in Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 19 and 82.



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(*See Chapter IV*)

V

THE SÎḲ

The grand gorge by which one enters Petra from the east is unquestionably one of the most wonderful passes to be found on earth. In Arabic it is called as-Sîḳ. This name, Dalman suggests,[1] may be derived directly or indirectly from the Greek word *sakos,* meaning a tomb, or shrine. (The Sîḳ leads directly to the most imposing mausoleum in Petra.) The cause of this great cleft in nature is best explained by supposing that it is due not to water erosion alone, but to the cracking of the sandstone folds in the rocks. The vast mass of the cretaceous rock formation east of the city was probably rent asunder by some great earthquake or other convulsion of nature, leaving behind it this long, winding, magnificent chasm with its smaller tributaries.[2] At certain points the rocky cliffs seem to have been cut away by human hands.[3] The tributary fissures, which open into the Sîḳ, are also bounded by perpendicular rocks, showing that the whole region must have been rent by some geological upheaval. Apposite, indeed, is Laborde's description of the gorge, as "a fine avenue created by nature, and improved to magnificence by the skill and industry of man."[4] This great geological cleft was the principal gateway of the city.

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[1] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 8; cf. de Goeje, *ZDMG,* 1900, pp. 336ff.

[2] Cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 131; also, Philby, in Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 2.

[3] E. L. Wilson, *In Scripture Lands,* 1890, p. 88, records a tradition to the effect that "the defile is called Wâdi Mûsa, because the Arabs believe that the patriarch Moses, by one stroke of his staff, caused the mountain to separate and to form this tremendous fissure, in order to enable him to pass on to Mt. Hor, accompanying Aaron, to help him to die, and to lay him at rest."

Descending from 'Ain Mûsa past the little village of Alji, the cultivated valley of Wâdi Mûsa soon contracts, and the low rocky promontories of the Petra range of cliffs, at first almost as white as limestone, soon become reddish sandstone heights, rising higher and higher, until the Wâdi becomes only a hundred feet in width; and because the great rock shoulders are carved for sepulchral purposes, the valley begins to take on the appearance of a street of tombs. As the stream in the Wâdi approaches the great rock barriers, it bends first to the right and then to the left, and finally, turning westward, suddenly disappears through a narrow cleft in the range, called the Sîḳ. This is the real entrance of the great and terrible chasm. The opening is hardly perceptible to the eye of the visitor until he actually arrives. But, just before he enters, he passes on the right a narrow valley, which leads, some four hundred feet northward, to a tunnel, which was probably cut through the obstructing rock of the valley, in order to divert the waters of Wâdi Mûsa in times of flood.[5] This tunnel is about three hundred feet long, seventeen feet broad, and twenty feet high. It carried the overflow of Wâdi Mûsa through Wâdi Mudhlim, and its eastern fork, called Maḳaris as-Sulaib, on through Wâdi Sha'îb al-Ḳais, into Wâdi al-Mataḥa, and so around into Wâdi Mûsa, after it has emerged from the Sîḳ into the city.

The *entrance* to the Sîḳ was easily defended. The rocks on either side are so high and the passage is so narrow that a dozen men in ancient times could, without very much difficulty, have held at bay a whole army of Arab invaders. About fifty paces below the entrance, a graceful arch once spanned the chasm. It rested upon buttresses which were cut in the solid rock. Whether it was intended originally as "a bridge," as Burckhardt suggests,[6] or as "an aqueduct," as Palmer,[7] or, as Laborde explains it,[8] as "an arch of triumph," to ornament the entrance of this singular gallery, it is impossible to say. The arch, unhappily, is no longer there. Between 1882, when E. W. Wilson entered the city, and our own first visit in 1900, it had fallen. Burckhardt in 1812, Robinson in 1838, and Palmer in 1870, all report having seen it. Only the springs of it now remain to tell of its once commanding position and beauty. There are also niches sculptured in the rock beneath each end of the arch; these are ornamented with pilasters, and were probably intended for busts or statues.

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[4] *Journey through Arabia Petræa,* etc., 1838, p. 178.

[5] Philby, however, regards it as "apparently natural," rather than artificial; cf. Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 15.

Following the little *stream* of Wâdi Mûsa, which often appears, disappears, and then again reappears at different points, the ravine winds right and left, again and again, without, however, changing its general direction. More specifically it runs first west, then southwest, then turns sharply northwest, and continues on, varying between southwest and northwest, until near the end, where it again turns due west and makes its exit. It curves so often, indeed, that the eye is often puzzled to know in which direction the passage will open; so completely do the rocky walls in front of one seem to obstruct the way. It twists almost like a serpent; yet, it was through these same sinuous windings that the conquerors and caravans of antiquity, and the kings and the queens of different nations once filed in stately, dignified procession.

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[6] *Travels, etc.,* 1822, p. 423; cf. El-Muḳattem, *Lands of the Moslem,* 1851, p. 218.

[7] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 369.

[8] *Journey, etc.,* 1828, p. 178; who says, "A grand triumphal arch, erected over the ravine after the fashion of the ancients, who usually constructed similar arches at the entrance to their cities, boldly spans the two lofty walls of rock on each side"; cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 130.

The *height* of the perpendicular walls which bound the chasm is deceiving, and has deceived many. Some interesting but extravagant guesses have been made by visitors. One writer, whose imagination was surely most extraordinary, estimated their height at from seven hundred to one thousand feet, which is a gross exaggeration! Burckhardt's estimate, on the other hand, as "about 80 feet," is too low.[9] Irby and Mangles ventured the wild guess that they were "from 400 to 700 feet in height."[10] Dalman, "from 30 to 60 metres"[11] Libbey and Hoskins, "after many tests and observations, from 300 to 400 feet";[12] while Robinson, who claims to have given "particular attention to this point," and who "repeated his observations," estimates them as from 150 to 250 feet, adding, "I doubt whether any part of these or the adjacent cliffs rises to the height of 300 feet."[13] Our own estimate, confirmed by repeated visits, is that the boundary rocks of this great gorge from the Arch to the Khazneh, would not average more than two hundred feet in height. For, though their tops are of practically uniform height, and the Wâdi bottom in the Sîḳ proper, has a rapid descent amounting to about one hundred and seventy-five feet, yet they scarcely rise to a height exceeding one hundred feet at the eastern end, and they hardly attain a maximum of three hundred feet at the western end. An average, accordingly, of two hundred feet seems to us to be a reasonable estimate.

Variant reports of the *width* of the chasm are also given: Irby and Mangles, for example, describe its width as "not more than just sufficient for the passage of two horsemen abreast";[14] Dalman, as "from 5 to 10 metres"[15] Kennedy says, "the clear breadth between the walls is about 20 feet in the narrowest places, but here and there it opens out considerably";[16] Burckhardt, as "about 15 or 20 feet";[17] Robinson measured the width just below the Arch and found it to be twelve feet. This he considered "the narrowest part; though it hardly becomes," he adds, "in any place more than three, or at the most four, times this width."[18] The differences between these reports, after all, are not very important.

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[9] *Travels, etc.,* 1822, pp. 423, 424.

[10] *Travels, etc.,* 1868, p. 127.

[11] *Petra, etc.,* 1908, p. 8.

[12] *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* ii, 1905, p. 76.

[13] *Bibl. Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 131.

The *length* of the Sîḳ is more difficult to obtain. From the Arch to the Khazneh, as Robinson observes, is "a large mile";[19] requiring from twenty to twenty-five minutes to pass on foot, because of the loose gravel of the Wâdi bed. Kennedy reports: "The total length of the Sîḳ, as the crow flies, is approximately 6,000 feet, but the three great loops of which it consists make the actual length much greater, and the soft gravelly bed makes walking through it very tiring."[20] Dalman estimates it at "two kilometres";[21] Irby and Mangles as "nearly two miles";[22] but this is rather the approximate length of the whole valley from the eastern end, where the tombs begin, to the western side of the city site, opposite Ḳasr Fir'aûn. From the Arch through the Sîḳ all the way to the Theater is but a mile and a half. To walk through the Sîḳ proper from the Arch to the Khazneh, required in our case twenty-two minutes.

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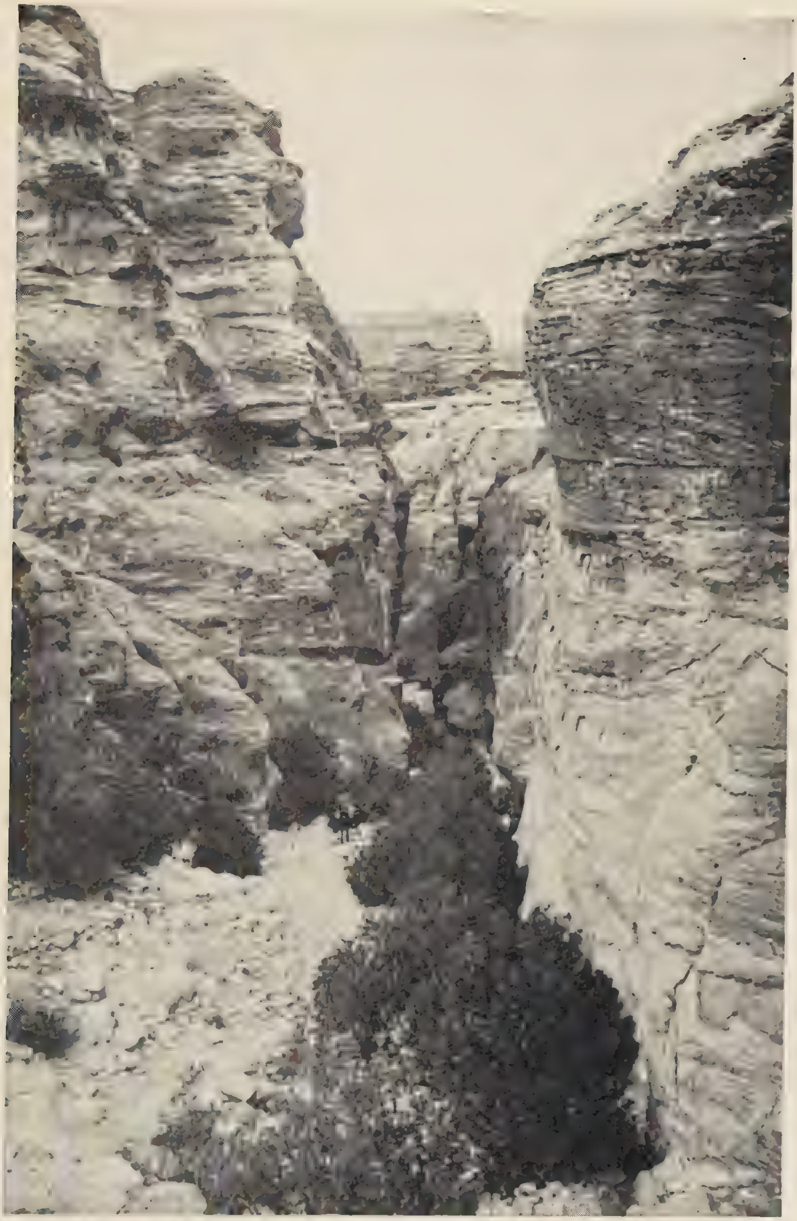
[14] *Travels, etc.,* 1868, p. 127.
[15] *Petra, etc.,* 1908, p. 8.
[16] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 74.
[17] *Travels, etc.,* 1822, p. 422.
[18] *Bibl. Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 130.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 74.
[21] *Petra, etc.,* 1908, p. 8.
[22] *Travels, etc.,* 1868, p. 128.



(See Chapter V) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Bâb as-Sîḳ, eastern entrance to the Great Gorge leading into Petra

The gorge is sometimes choked through heavy rains and torrents. The beautiful little stream of Wâdi Mûsa, which in the spring by its gurgling music adds to the other charms of this wonderful chasm, is sometimes suddenly transformed into a turbid *flood*. Robinson, however, reports that when he was there, on May 31, it flowed like an ordinary and normal stream, along the whole distance.[23] Miss Martineau, alone of all modern visitors to Petra, records having seen a rushing river in Wâdi Mûsa. She was there late in March, 1847, and describes her experience as follows:

> I heard a shout! The torrent had come down! And, indeed, down it came, almost breast-high, rushing and swirling among the thickets and great stones in the water-course, giving us a river in a moment. There, was the muddy torrent—or rather, the junction of two torrents: the one, which had come from the Sîḳ and past the theatre, being muddy; and the other, from the north-east being clear. On came the double stream [Miss Martineau's camp was evidently near Ḳasr Fir'aun], bowing and waving the tamarisks and oleanders. Just before sunset, I went to look again. The white waterfalls were still tumbling from the steeps; the torrent was still dashing along, making eddies among the stones. At night, I went out once more; and that was the finest of all. Its rush seemed louder than ever.[24]

There is every necessary proof to think that such floods as this which Miss Martineau so graphically describes actually happen. Bowlders weighing hundreds of pounds cover the floor of the gorge, which shows with what tremendous volume the waters must rush down through the Sîḳ at times. The bottom of the ravine is literally covered with stones and silt, and detritus, which have been brought down by the torrents. Immense banks of gravel are to be seen in different parts of the water course. Some, indeed, have in turn, been washed away by recurring overflows, leaving great jorfs, as in Wâdi Feirân in the Sinai Peninsula, and elsewhere. It was doubtless to prevent the destruction which such freshets would cause that the ancients cut the Tunnel, already described, and diverted the overflows of Wâdi Mûsa through it and Wâdi Mudhlim into Wâdi al-Mataḥa. Without some such escape, the Sîḳ would at times be rendered impassable.

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[23] *Bibl. Researches*, ii, 1874, p. 131.

[24] *Eastern Life: Past and Present*, 1848; quoted by Kennedy, *in extenso*, in his *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, 1925, p. 53 n.

A clever device for using the waters of Wâdi Mûsa was the cutting of *aqueducts,* or water runnels in the rocks along the Sîḳ, and inserting in them earthen pipes, five to eight inches in diameter, which were cemented fast with mortar. At several points in the chasm such are still to be found *in situ;* and in every case so well secured as to be exceedingly difficult to remove. Irby and Mangles, in describing one of these "troughs" which confined the water and conveyed it upon a raised level to the city, also report, that

> at a considerable distance down the ravine, this watercourse crosses over from the left to the opposite side; and towards its extremity may be traced; passing along at a great height in earthen pipes, bedded, and secured with mortar, and in horizontal grooves cut in the face of the rock, even across the architectural fronts of some of the tombs, which make it probable that it is of a later date than the tombs themselves.[25]

Many vestiges of *pavement* also remain; the floor of the pass having been originally paved in Roman style, with huge square blocks which, in spite of time, floods, and Arab vandalism, still remain in place. Most of the street pavement, however, has either been carried away by the water, or covered over by the deposits of the torrents. According to Philby, "in the heyday of Petra's prosperity, the Sîḳ was paved, in order to form the ceremonial entrance to the city."[26]

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[25] *Travels, etc.,* 1868, p. 128.

Niches, here and there, along the Sîḳ, attract the eye. Little square cuttings, sometimes single, sometimes three or four together, without any particular regularity; some mere holes in the rock, others with short pilasters on both sides, varying, however, in length from a foot to five feet in height; carrying crude inscriptions in Greek, sometimes with carvings of foliage only; in some cases adorned with tablets hewn smooth, where once stood busts or statues, occasionally, the bases of the statues being still visible; all such cuttings are of supreme interest to the specialist and enhance the interest of this majestic cleft. Palmer interprets them in many cases as "dedicatory altars of the same pattern as those which exist at Banias and other places in Palestine"; and he adds that "beneath those in the Sîḳ we found five or six imperfect Greek inscriptions." [27]

Withal Nature has also richly adorned with life the rocks which bound the Sîḳ. For, beside their native coloring, which is exquisite, they are covered over in different places with *plants and vines* which grow in the most incredible and unexpected places. All sorts of creepers hang in green festoons from the high walls, having found in slight hollows of the rocks, here and there, sufficient earth in which to root themselves. Wild ivy, maidenhair ferns, and even caper plants, wild figs, defle trees, tamarisks, and other shrubs finding crevices in the rocks in which to grow. The entrance to the gorge is, in fact, almost choked with a luxuriant growth of oleanders, which are almost always in full bloom. Even the tributary ravines of the Sîḳ are similarly filled with various indigenous growths. This green verdure of the whole setting naturally enhances the romantic attractiveness of the chasm.

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[26] Cf. Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 2.

[27] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, pp. 369-370; cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 131; also, Al-Muḳattem, *Lands of the Moslem,* 1851, p. 227.

(*See Chapter III*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Al-Basta, between Ma'ân and 'Ain Mûsa

And what a picture of natural beauty it is! As one gazes at such unique surroundings, especially in those inner, deeper portions of the gorge where the perpendicular rocks on right and left rise like cathedral columns about him, almost meet-

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ing at the top, in some cases, so that they shut out the sky, leaving but a ribbon of blue, and the bright light of a noonday's sun becomes but an umbrageous glow, wearing a robe of twilight, he naturally exclaims with the Hebrew psalmist who also studied nature, "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" One finds himself in perfect accord with the great Cambridge explorer, who wrote of the Sîḳ, "In beauty of color and grandeur of form it exceeds even the glowing descriptions which former travelers have given it."[28] We stand amazed, enchanted, delighted! For majesty and magnificence it has no equal; it produces thrills never elsewhere experienced; it is not only "the great glory of Petra," it stands unique among the great chasms of the world! Says the erudite "Father of Biblical Geography":

> I know of nothing which can present even a faint idea of it. I had visited the strange sandstone lanes and streets of Adersbach, and wandered with delight through the romantic dells of the Saxon Switzerland; both of which scenes might be supposed to afford the nearest parallel; yet they exhibit few points of comparison. All here is on a vaster scale of wild and savage grandeur. We lingered along this superb approach proceeding slowly and stopping often, forgetful of everything else, and taking for the moment no note of time.[29]

Especially true is this, when one approaches the exit, and, looking ahead, catches his first glimpses of the Khazneh, that "gem of Petra," which like a colossal mausoleum faces the visitor as he comes out into the open, exclamations of rapture, and emotions of joy which are utterly indescribable, are spontaneously evoked! Yet, we to-day can but faintly imagine the sensations of an ancient Roman on arriving at this great desert metropolis, when the Arch was standing and the pavements, niches, and statues, and inscriptions, and other adornments were all comparatively new! As he followed this wild ravine, he must have felt that he was approaching the gates of Orcus. During those remote times, two thousand years ago, wealth untold went in and out of this great ravine, but now, alas! for thirteen hundred years and more, it has been a silent and deserted thoroughfare. Still, the mystery of it all continues to appall!

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[28] Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1872, p. 367.

[29] Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 1874, pp. 131-132.

VI

PETRA, A CITY OF ALTARS AND SACRIFICE

By the late Dr. George E. Post, American University, Beirût

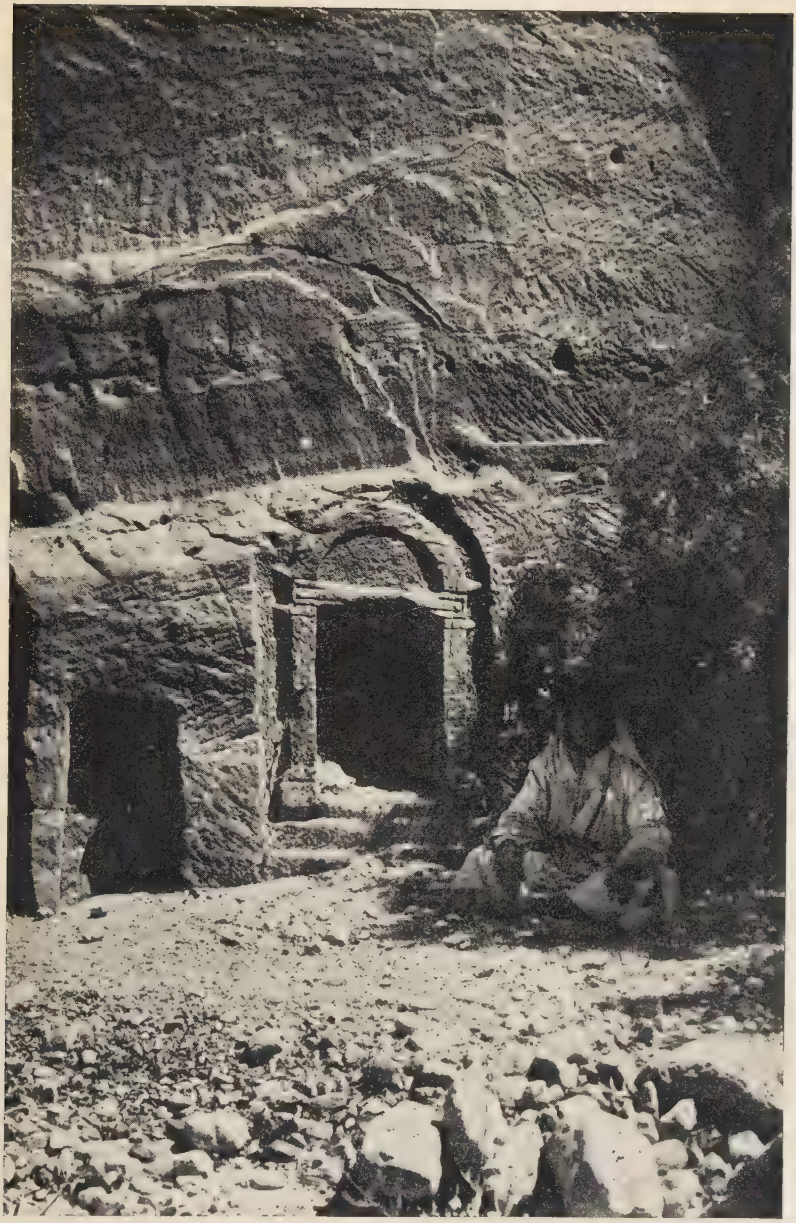
Under the cretaceous rocks of the plateau of Edom, Moab and Ammon, is a thick layer of azoic sandstone. Wherever the streams, which cut the edge of the great plateau from east to west into deep valleys and sometimes canyons, have exposed the strata to a sufficient depth, this layer of sandstone is found, underlying the limestone, and, in places, overlying porphyry and other igneous rocks. At Petra and other places it is several hundred feet in thickness, and, for a number of miles north and south of that city, a mass about a mile in breadth has been separated from the adjacent table land by erosion, and almost entirely denuded of its superjacent limestone. In the center of this mass is what remains of the city of Petra. A torrent from the plateau, flowing between it and the sandstone mass, has cut its way through the latter from east to west, forming a canyon, from twelve to twenty feet wide, with perpendicular or overhanging walls, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet high. At the western opening of this canyon, in a trapezoidal space, with an area of about half a square mile, is the site of Petra. There are few remains, above ground, of the ancient city. A temple, an isolated column, some remains of bridges, an arch of triumph, some sculptured stones, and part of the pavement of the main street, with mounds of stone, and pottery scattered everywhere, show where the inhabited town was.

From every side there descend from the great sandstone reef, which rises in places six hundred feet above the bed of the stream at Ḳasr Fir‘aûn, steep ravines, which in winter and early spring have torrents in their beds. Up all these ravines, staircases have been hewn into the rock, leading to the knobs which crown the summits. The precipitous rocky walls of the trapezoid, and of these ravines, have been carved and hewn into temples, shrines and tombs. Tier upon tier of colonnades, façades with doors and windows, and friezes, in the debased style of later Grecian art, are seen on every side. Near the mouth of the canyon is a theater, large enough for four thousand spectators, carved out of the rock. The fornices and comitoria are still open. Many of these sculptured remains are still in a good state of preservation. Others are crumbling, through the action of wind and water, under the blazing sunshine of that region. All are lighted up by a wonderful coloring of red, orange, blue, gray, yellow, brown, black, purple, pink and white. Sometimes these colors are in parallel lines or bands, sometimes in wavy ribbons, like watered silk. They often blend into one another, and at other times are sharply defined. They never correspond to the stratification of the stone, being often at right angles to it.

At salient points, some on the summit knobs, and others on platforms more convenient to the city, always approached by hewn or partially built stairways, sometimes by galleries along the faces of precipices, are the "high places." These consist of an altar, hewn from the rock, surrounded by a trench to receive the blood, which is carried away by an opening or groove to a receptacle. There is usually a water tank, hewn into the rock, and, in several cases, a fireplace, where the sacrifice was cooked. By the side of several of these altars are stone seats, on which the worshipers doubtless sat. Not far from some of them, there are still trees, probably survivals of ancient groves, where the worshipers may have rested, or under the shade of which they may have reveled. The number of these high places, thus far visited and described, or shortly to be described, is eleven. There is reason to believe that others will be found. They are distributed so as to be accessible from different parts of the town.

History is silent in regard to the religion, the art, the life of the Edomites. A few of the monuments are Christian. When and how Petra became depopulated and fell into ruin, we do not, and probably never can, know. But the high places are plainly heathen, and, as plainly, places of sacrifice. The large number of them, their costly and picturesque approaches, their impressive position on the "tops of the rocks," and the elaborate arrangements for the carrying out of the rites, indicate the importance attached to them by those who made and used them.

It is probable that, at all times, these high places were favorite resorts. In the afternoon, when the ravines are shaded from the scorching sun, they are charming, especially in winter and spring, when the streams plunge in cascades into pools beneath a canopy of oleanders, when a multitude of wild flowers spring from the crannies, and when the birds are singing in the branches. At such an hour, especially on feast days, we may well imagine a large part of the population, leisurely climbing the staircases, carrying with them bread and fruit, and other food, and leading a kid or a lamb, perhaps with fleece stained with brilliant colors, or ornamented with garlands of leaves or flowers, or decked with gay ribbons. Arrived at the top, they would look down on their houses in the trapezoid, and off toward the mysterious chasm of the 'Arabah. At the shrine they would be met by the priest, who would offer up their victim according to religious canons, and then cook the flesh in



(*See Chapter V*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Altar niches within the Sīḳ

caldrons, over the fireplaces which still exist. They would then sit down on the stone seats around the altar, or retire to one of the adjacent groves, and partake of their evening meal. Then, in the cool of the early gloaming, they would retire down the fairy dells to their homes. By one of the altars, in a large excavated quadrangle, surrounded by stone seats, is a slab, not laid on the floor of the quadrangle, but sculptured in relief at its middle. This may have been a place for the immolation of a human victim. Or it may have been a table, on which the repast was spread, and around which the guests squatted, as is the custom of Orientals to-day.

It is certain that Asiatics mingle religion with the ordinary acts and functions of life more than Western nations. It is plain that some at least of the Hebrew sacrifices, as that of the paschal lamb, and others of the daily rites, were eaten. To this day the Moslems, who visit the alleged tomb of Moses, between Jerusalem and Jericho, take food with them, sacrifice animals, and associate the pilgrim idea with that of hilarity and feasting and dancing. Such was the sound and sight which greeted Moses when he descended from Sinai with the tables of the law. He found the people sitting down to eat and drink, and rising up to play, and he answered Joshua, "It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome; but the noise of them that sing do I hear" (Ex. 32:6, 18). We may thus imagine the people of Petra living a sort of picnic life, associated with religious rites and orgies. Their vespers were on the hilltops. Their feasts were acts of worship as well as meals and scenes of revelry. There is room on and about the various high places for all the population which Petra could have had. And, in the clear air, the chanting of the priests, and the responses of the people, could be easily heard from hilltop to hilltop, and even in the houses below. And if, on special occasions, the worship had been organized, we can fancy Petra as one great congregation, calling out from peak to peak, across the canyons, and over the city to the Dair, the great temple at the top of the northwestern valley, the names, the attributes and the praises of their gods, and chanting the responsive ritual. We may even fancy that sometimes those ceremonies were enacted by moonlight, or by torchlight, and that the worshipers returned late to their homes, after an evening of almost frenzied worship and wild hilarity.

That the idea of propitiatory sacrifice still exists in the minds of the people of this region I had evidence a few days after my visit to Petra. On my way north I visited the "Bath of Pharaoh," a hot spring not far from Tafîla. The hot water of this health resort bubbles up into an open basin, in which men bathe, and another stream of it flows into a cave, given up to women. Some of the men brought a kid to the edge of the basin, and cut its throat over the water, so that the blood flowed into the spring. Others then bathed with much shouting and hilarity in the bloody water. They sacrificed other kids and a lamb in the same way. I asked them why they did so. They replied, "So that the Lord Solomon may be pleased, and cause the spring to bubble and boil." Here was propitiatory sacrifice. I could not but recall,

There is a fountain filled with blood,
  Drawn from Immanuel's veins,
And sinners plunged beneath that flood,
  Lose all their guilty stains.

Custom has prescribed for ages an observance, the meaning of which has been lost.

I found signs of sacrifice, more distinctly propitiatory, a few miles away. On the flat roof, over the lintel of the doorway of the tomb of Nabi Ḥamâd-al-Hadsaifi, I saw the place where animals are sacrificed to the saint, and the streaks of dried blood which had flowed down over the wall and onto the lintel and threshold of the tomb. Similar streaks of blood are found over the doorway of the adjacent building, which may be that of the Nabi's wife.

Every year Mohammedans celebrate the feast of the Dahiyeh (sacrifice) in memory of the provision of the ram as a substitute for Ishmael, whom (and not Isaac as in the Bible) they believe to have been thus saved. They thus give an unconscious testimony to the idea of vicarious sacrifice, the meaning of which they have lost, and the fact of which they repudiate.

VII

THE KHAZNEH MAUSOLEUM

By far the handsomest, the most majestic, and the most elaborately carved of all the rock monuments of the great Necropolis of Petra is the so-called Khaznet Fir'aûn, or "Treasury of Pharaoh." The Arabs know it also by the name al-Jarra, "the Urn"; because an immense sandstone block carved in the shape of an urn crowns its apex, the urn being supposed by them to contain the treasures of Pharaoh.[1]

Its location was well chosen. For, as one, entering Petra through the winding gorge of the Sîḳ, approaches its western end, he is suddenly surprised, in the darkness of his wild and rock-bounded surroundings, by the grace and beauty and quiet lines of a Temple, with ornamental façade, rising before him opposite the mouth of the Sîḳ, in the clear light of day! A transverse wâdi, which runs north and south across the exit of the Sîḳ, furnishes an opening just wide enough for the luminous setting of the edifice. As one draws nearer and nearer to it, it looks like a great cameo cut in the virgin rock. Here before one, stands a miracle in a desert of sandstone, rose-red, beautiful and alone; nearly a hundred and fifty feet in height, and a hundred in breadth; the façade richly adorned with columns and capitals, pediments and entablatures, statues and figures, looking as if fresh from the chisel, and absolutely without any of the weather stains of age upon it!

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[1] The Arabs make a target of this urn, believing that if they could only perforate it by a bullet, they would obtain a shower of gold. Irby and Mangles, indeed, report, that "one of the perforations, caused by a musket ball, would seem to prove that the urn is hollow" (*Travels*, etc., 1868, p. 129). This, however, is very doubtful.

In the foreground, dark green shrubs, flowering oleanders and patches of green grass flourish; the products, however, of almost perpetual shade, for the sun strikes the bottom of this deep valley for a few hours only each morning. The whole structure is set, so to speak, in bas-relief; the architect having cut deep into the mountain mass, so that the projecting natural rock which surrounds it, encases, overhangs, and protects it from the destructive influences of the elements. To this, in part at least, is due the good state of preservation and the perfect freshness which still characterize this wonderful piece of architecture, causing it to withstand successfully the erosion of time's influences almost two thousand years.[2]

The exact dimensions of the Temple are now at hand. To Dalman, in particular, we owe the enterprise of obtaining certain measurements, which for years were only a matter of guess. In November, 1910, assisted by a brave native, named Mûsa, from the neighboring village of Alji, and also by Messrs. Mackenzie and Newton, who, at Dalman's advice, brought with them ladders from Jerusalem, Mûsa was persuaded to climb to the top of the wonderful façade, and dropped a measuring line to the ground. The extreme height of the edifice (including the eleven-foot-high urn) was found to be one hundred and thirty feet; and its maximum width, eighty-one feet. Already in 1909, Dalman, alone, had discovered one hundred and sixteen steps which

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[2] Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, etc., 1868, p. 128) observe: "It may be doubted whether any work of the ancients, excepting perhaps some on the banks of the Nile, has come down to our time so little injured by the lapse of ages. There is, in fact, scarcely a building of forty years standing in England, so well preserved in the greater part of its architectural decorations."

(See Chapter V) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

First glimpse of the Khazneh from the Sîḳ lead up along the side of the Temple, and was thus able to photograph the façade from near the top.[3]

The façade is a beautiful piece of carving, well-planned and cleverly executed. It fronts east and consists, as the pictures show, of two distinct and characteristic stories, both of which are rock-hewn. No part is wanting except the upper portion of a single column—one of the four which support the richly sculptured entablature and pediment of the first story. There are six columns in all, two having been added by the architect, one on either side, in order to obtain a broader and more imposing façade. The entablature was extended accordingly. Only the two middle columns are independent of the mother rock; the other four are semi-detached. Their height is now known to be forty-one and a half feet; and their diameter five feet. The two central columns are composed of three separate pieces put together. Behind these columns there is a broad portico, twenty-five feet wide and forty-six feet long, from which entrances lead into the chambers of the interior. The portico and inner chambers are on different levels; three or four steps, now quite worn away beyond recognition, and covered with sand, lead up into the portico.

An upper story of columns and cornices almost doubles the height of the mausoleum proper. Its proportions are both graceful and peculiar. It consists of three distinct parts. In the center, there is a circular tower, resembling a miniature temple, surrounded by a ring of columns which support a cone-shaped, tent-like roof, reminding one of the pillar of Absalom in the Kedron, and the lantern of Demosthenes in Athens. On the top of this temple-sanctuary, sits an urn, its base being a capital like those of the columns below, of the Corinthian type. Two side pavilions with angular pediments, whose cornices bear Roman eagles, complete the façade on either side. All three of these separate sections are most richly decorated with winged figures, Amazons, or armed horsemen, and possibly female figures covered with graceful, flowing drapery. Most of them, unfortunately, are damaged beyond recognition. Domaszewski has succeeded, however, in taking telephotographs of them, and as a result guesses that the principal figure in the central panel of the Temple tower was intended to be that of Isis.[4] In general it may be observed, with Dalman, that:

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[3] *Neue Petra-Forschungen,* 1912, p. 74.

> This combination of the front of a temple as lower story, with a colonnade encircling a round pavilion as upper story, has been imitated at Petra in the so-called Temple of the Dair, and in the Corinthian Tomb, but is, as far as is known, without any parallel elsewhere. But, though against all classical custom, it suits the place, and its decorative effect is happy.[5]

The interior of the Khazneh, being absolutely plain and without any architectural decoration, is greatly inferior to the beautifully carved exterior of the façade, and, accordingly, is somewhat disappointing. Yet it, too, is very interesting. The great door leading up from the portico into the central hall, is especially attractive, being surrounded by an elaborate architrave. Its height is 26 feet; its width at the bottom, 13 feet, 4 inches and at the top, 12 feet, 8 inches. The sockets at either side give evidence that it was meant to be closed by double doors. Especially noteworthy is a curious cup hole in the threshold of the sill, upon which, as Dalman suggests, libations for the dead may have been poured out.

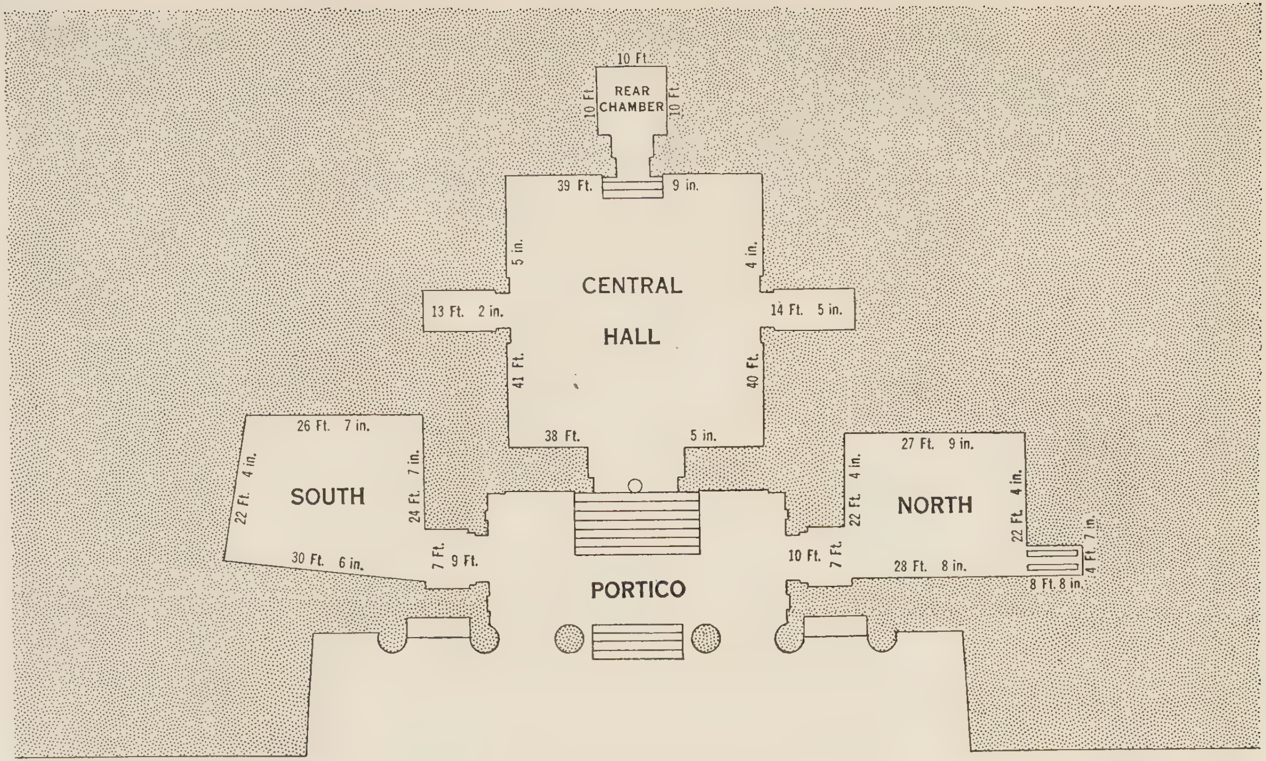
[4] Cf. Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* 1904, pp. 180-186.

[5] Palestine Exploration Fund, *Annual,* 1911, p. 99. In his *Neue Petra-Forschungen,* 1912, p. 63, Dalman remarks, that the urn on the top of the little round temple reminds him of a similar one in Pompeii, on the Casa del Laberinto.

The central hall, into which this great door leads, was probably intended to be a perfect cube of about forty feet each side; but, as a matter of fact, its walls, which are perfectly plain, all differ from one another in length; for example, its east wall measures only 38 feet, 5 inches; its west, 39 feet, 9 inches; its north, 40 feet, 4 inches; and its south, 41 feet, 5 inches; its height being 39 feet, 4 inches.

Three small side chambers lead off from the three sides; those on right and left being approached by two steps, that in the rear, by four. There is no indication that these three entrances could be closed by doors. The largest of these three smaller chambers is the hinder one, which in view of its location, would naturally have provided the resting place of the head of the family. It is approximately ten feet square. The other two side chambers are only deep recesses cut in the rock wall, each one the exact width of the door to the rear chamber. Neither one, apparently, was intended to have doors; but they may have been left thus unfinished, it being assumed that when used as repositories of the dead, doors would be added. No thorough examination of the floors of these recesses has ever been made, and inasmuch as the floors are covered by a thick layer of sand and manure, it is not known whether there exist tomb cavities below or not. According to the analogies of other tombs in Petra, such grave openings might be expected; provided, of course, the Khazneh were intended as a tomb.

Two other chambers, leading right and left off the portico, remain to be mentioned. They are both of considerable size: that on the north end of the portico measuring about 28 by 22 feet (see the plan of the Khazneh) ; the door being 7 feet broad. This chamber possesses one feature of particular interest, namely: a recess in its north wall, which measures 8 feet, 8 inches in length, 4 feet, 7 inches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9 in.
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SOUTH
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NORTH
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28 Ft. 8 in.
4 Ft. 7 in.
8 Ft. 8 in.
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Ground plan of the Khazneh
(See Chapter VII)

in width, and 8 feet in height. Two low partition walls divide the cavity into three narrow sections, all, however, too narrow to receive a human body. No satisfactory explanation of this recess has ever yet been given; the three narrow sections seem at one time to have borne a cover.

The chamber leading from the portico to the left is less regular in its construction, having been conformed, it may be supposed, to the nature of the rock through which excavation was made. Its lateral measurements all differ widely from one another; thus, the north wall, is 24 feet, 7 inches; the south, 22 feet, 4 inches; the west, 26 feet, 7 inches; and the east 30 feet, 6 inches. The ceiling of this south chamber, like that of the north chamber, is approximately 25 feet. There is a slight hollow in the floor of one of them, it is reported. We did not ourselves observe it.

What the original purpose of this great and wonderfully carved Temple was is still something of a mystery. Palmer, whose judgment on such matters is usually valuable, calls it "the Mausoleum of Petra"—"the Philharmonic institution of the place."[6] He is influenced, however, by what he thinks is a "lyre" on the apex of the pediments over the four central pillars of the lower story; and by the sculptures on the nine faces of rock which constitute the upper pediment of the façade, which he fancies are nine female figures with flowing drapery, and, therefore, are to be identified as the nine muses. But all this is pure imagination on his part.

Burckhardt's intuitions are far more probable. He says: "The natives call this monument Ḳasr Fir'aûn, or Pharaoh's Castle, and pretend that it was the residence of a prince. But it was rather the sepulcher of a prince, and great must have been the opulence of a city which could dedicate such

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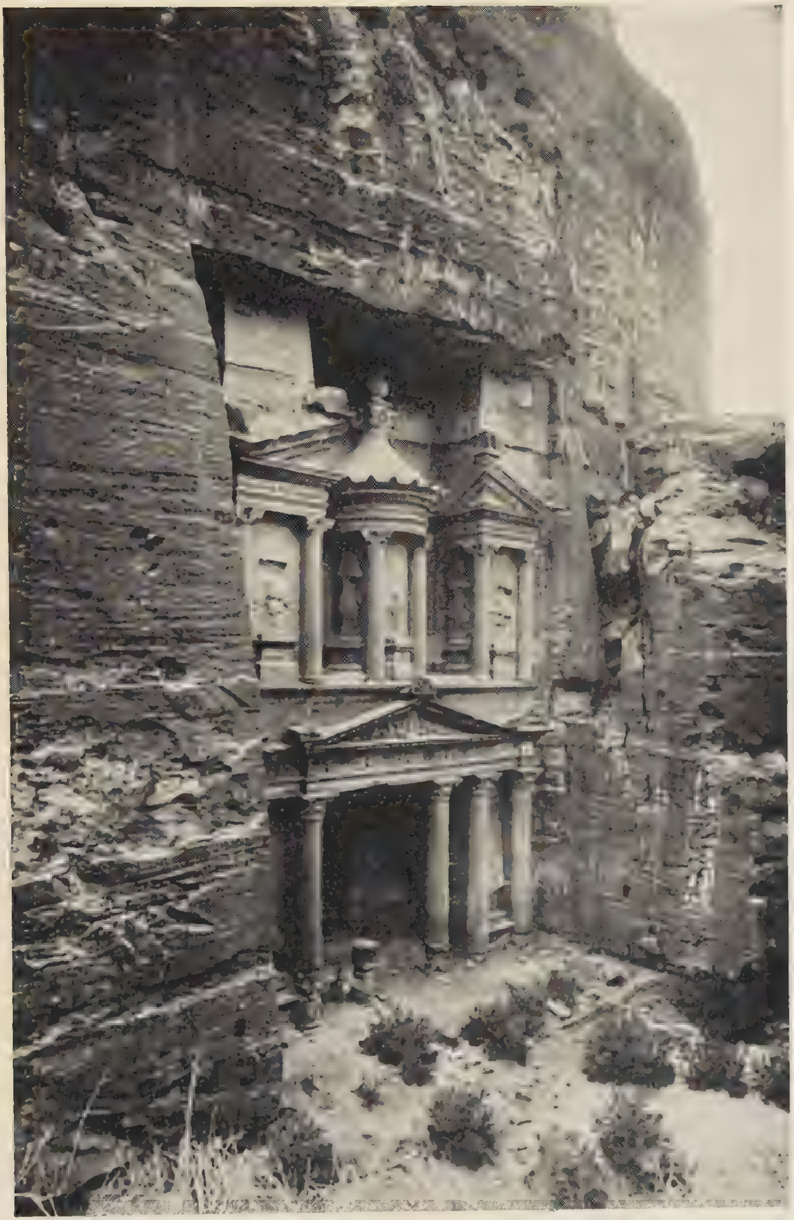
[6] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, pp. 370, 371.



(See Chapter VII) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

The Khazneh, from the southeast

ornaments to the memory of its rulers."[7] This, indeed, is the general consensus of those who have most carefully studied the structure and attempted to interpret its archæological significance. Our own view is, that it was once a royal sepulcher which has been pillaged. It bears many of the marks of a royal mausoleum; the large side chambers were probably intended as repositories of the dead. That the Arabs call it "the Treasury of Pharaoh" bespeaks nothing; as they do so merely because they imagine that the urn which adorns its apex contains treasures. On the contrary, urns often crown tombs in Petra. Dalman calls it a Temple-Tomb.

The exact date of the creation of this remarkable edifice is uncertain. Being without any inscription, we can only speculate as to who conceived and executed the cutting of it. Dalman assigns it to the first century A.D., claiming that its style is not Roman but Hellenistic; and because it has so little in common with the Roman types of architecture in Gerasa, Palmyra, and Heliopolis, he concludes that a king such as Aretas IV, who reigned from 9 B.C. till 40 A.D., or still more probably, Rabel II, the last king of Petra (71-105 A.D.), could well have erected a mausoleum like this. In any case, he believes, it was the grave of a king.[8] The architecture and decoration of the façade, he claims, are not classical; for they contain nothing which might not be derived from the first century after Christ. The pomp of the late Roman architecture is completely wanting; the style being more Hellenistic than Roman.

Domaszewski would date it a little later, in the time of Hadrian (ca. 131 A.D.), who included Egyptian gods in his pantheon. He suggests that the image of Isis which appears in the central panel of the Temple tower of the upper story,

[7] *Travels,* etc., 1822, p. 425.

[8] *Neue Petra-Forschungen,* 1912, pp. 77, 78.

as the protectress of the mausoleum, might argue more for a priest than for a king. But Dalman in reply calls attention to the fact that Nabatean coins exhibit the image of the goddess, with a cornucopia, as the emblem of royalty in Petra!

To Kennedy, even the date of Hadrian is too early; he preferring to place it "considerably later than the beginning of the Roman occupation" (105 A.D.). The reasons he gives are: (1) the use of Corinthian capitals; (2) the elaborate moldings; (3) the decorative reliefs on the flat surfaces; and (4) the free use of statues and carved animals, all of which he declares are features foreign to Nabatean conventions and workmanship, and, therefore, could not have been carried out by the Arabs; then, too, there is the cost, which must have been great.[9] But all these reasons vanish as soon as we reflect that almost any king of the Nabateans (like Solomon when he built the Temple in Jerusalem, 1 Kings 7:13ff.) might easily have brought in foreign architects and even foreign workmen to build a great and imposing sepulcher which would outstrip all others in the Necropolis of Petra. This, Kennedy himself practically allows.

Personally, the present writer can see no good reason why this stately mausoleum was not the intended tomb of Aretas IV, who ruled as far north as Syria and Damascus (9 B.C.—40 A.D.), and was, therefore, thoroughly familiar with Hellenistic art and civilization. If so, it might, therefore, very fittingly be dated ca. 30-40 A.D. (cf. 2 Cor. 11:32).

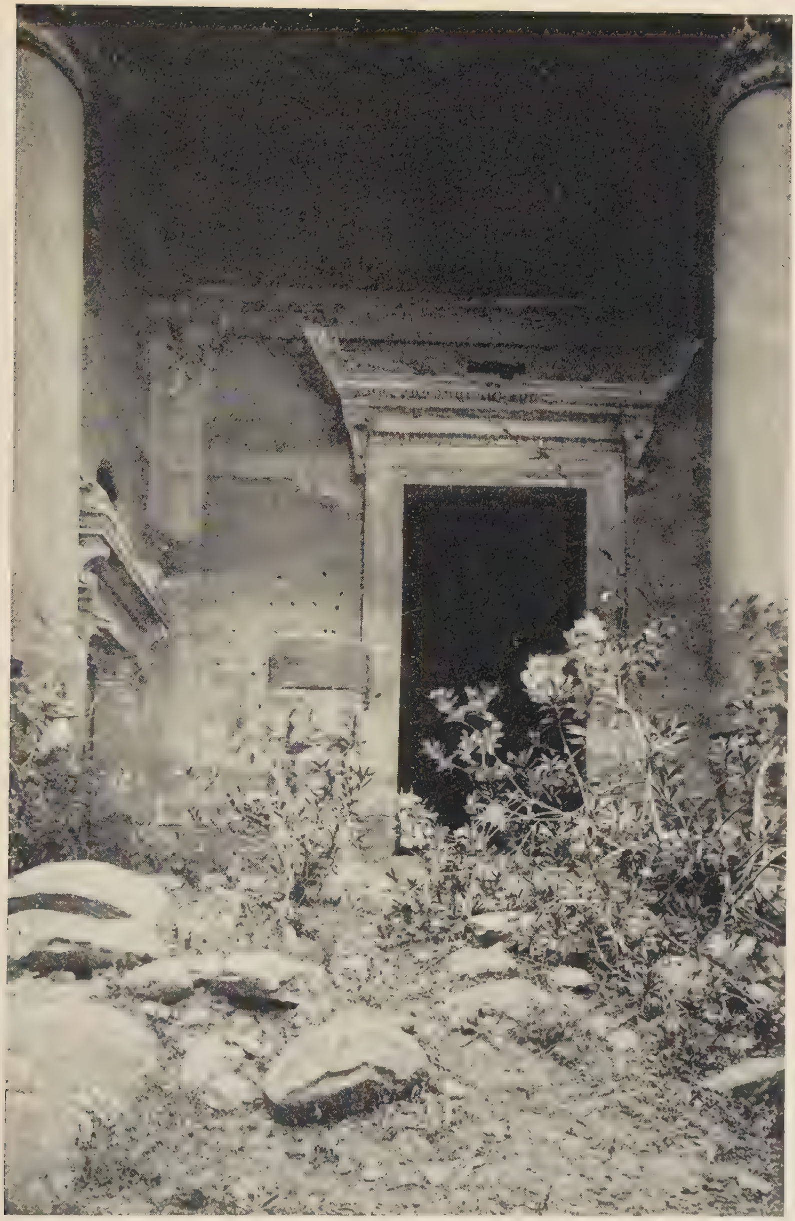
[9] Cf. Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 54, 55.

VIII

THE LURE OF THE LONG AGO

By Anna Jessup of the Presbyterian Mission, Beirût

As we stood on the level just above the court of the Great High Place at Petra, looking over the area of ruins of the former city, to the great enclosing walls of tomb-pierced cliffs and rock masses, we could not but be deeply impressed with the wonder of it all: the mysteries of its connection with oldest human history, even to pre-historic times, the signs about us of the earliest reachings out in worship whether that of reverence or only fear, the long forgetting of it by the nations, its isolation and grandeur, the far extent of its titanic barriers protecting and repelling, and withal, the marvelous color. A rosy flush lay over the pinnacles and crags, here bright and glowing, there fading off into duller shades in the shadows, but always most unusual and full of beauty. We could not but think that this wonderland of the desert might justly be called the Land of the Sunset Glow, where the day's consummate moment of beauty, so evanescent with us, is caught, and doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Its sun of life and passing pride and glory has long since set, but the reflection of the light lingers on, and smolders from behind the veil with which Time has been draping its brilliance. On the Khubtha the fire has burnt itself out to ashes; the pale gray domes of rock have none of the glowing color so characteristic of Petra, but melt into the background of the higher brown mountains in the distance. Yet when even they are lighted up at sun-



(See Chapter VII) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Main entrance to the Khazneh

set time, and the nearer ruddy sandstone takes on a glorification, the splendor is something always to be remembered, for it is a beauty quite beyond compare.

We had our first view of the Dair from that same height. The clear dry air made the distances seem comparatively short, and yet it must have been more than a mile across from our point of observation to the extreme outer edge of the cliff on the Dair plateau where we could see the outlines of the great urn and the perpendicular façade sharply drawn against the sky. It was an imposing monument, even when viewed at such a distance, and we were eager to climb up the valleys which led to it. Two days later our desire was accomplished.

Our pilgrim path from the camp wound past the fine entrance to the Western Sîḳ through a valley where the lovely blossoms of the oleander

> . . . flushed the bed
> Of silent torrents, gravel-spread.

When the real climb began up one of the deep lateral valleys it was delightful to find that the sun was shut away from us by the towering mountain above. We enjoyed loitering, stopping to look off at the grand cliffs as the view opened up wider and wider, to look up and down the gorges, crossing at varying angles the one by which the rock-cut steps had led the way for us. These steps were badly worn for the most part, but here and there we could have counted them by tens had we been in a statistical mood. Though poorly preserved, they made the long climb far easier, and much more alluring. In two places they were so nearly obliterated that even an enthusiast needed a friendly hand to pull him up to a secure footing. Fortunately the sandstone has a slightly rough surface which greatly reduces the possibility of slipping.

We stopped here and there for photographs, almost wondering at our own temerity in attempting to imprison any bit of the grandeur and variety of the rock scenery upon a tiny bit of film. We had the spirit of discovery, turning aside at times to toil up some long-forgotten pass in the rock wall, with a vivid hope of finding some hitherto unseen relic of the past. Perhaps this spirit inspires the dreams of all visitors to this abode of mystery! It is not the Arab avidity for the lure of hidden treasure, but rather a longing for some new key with which to unlock the secrets of the past—a fresh inscription, some tomb as yet unrifled, some strong link with the early days, some trace of the people of long ago, who "dwelt in the clefts of the rock."

There were many beautiful places by the way that tempted one to linger and admire. The colors of the sandstone were exquisitely vivid, being blended and often banded in waves of brightest tones, sometimes in sharp contrast with white, sometimes shading into it; but as we went higher they became duller, and of a uniform yellowish brown, while the erosion and "long results of Time" had eaten into the main masses of the mountain, giving a ghastly resemblance to long rows of skulls as the strata dipped, swerved or swept on in long straight lines.

At the side of an enormous rock, facing the Great Temple of the Dair, we found an enticing staircase leading to a tree-shaded ledge where we could rest, share our tea, and speculate upon the time when the Temple was used as a place of Christian worship.[1]

The first sensation at seeing the Dair is of wonder at its great size and massiveness, and surprise at finding an elaborate structure so far away from the main centers of Petra. After these long centuries of disuse and decay we forget that it must have had an important part in the busy life of its day, until reminded of the fact by the many ruins which confront us as we stroll over the plateau which is large enough in itself for the accommodation of a small town, and until we recall the significance of the laboriously cut steps and staircases by which it is approached.

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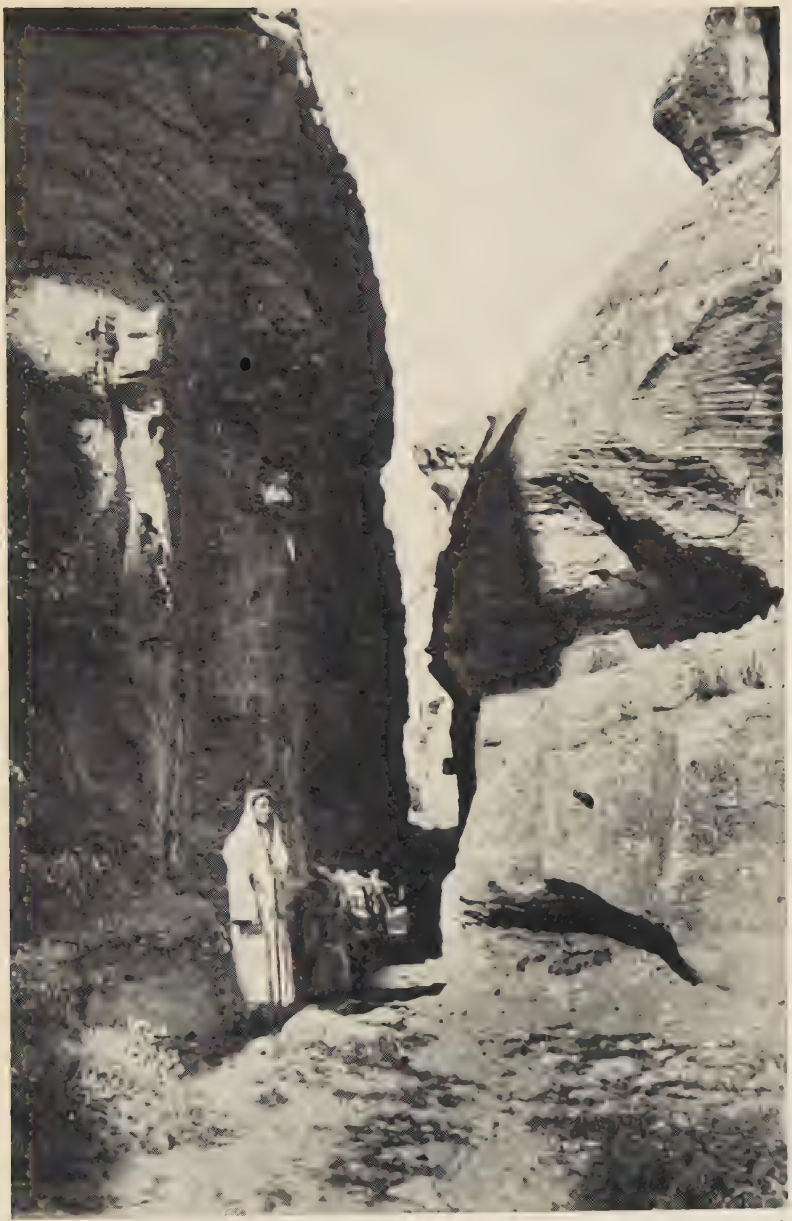
[1] The word *Dair* in Arabic signifies "Monastery."

The general plan and outline of the Dair is copied after that of the Khazneh but the contrast is very sharp between the rosy beauty of the Khazneh and this coarse rough copy of it, etched in strong lines upon the great brown cliffs which embrace it. We could not help thinking that it suggested the contrast between an aristocratic pink and white beauty, delicately adorned and protected from an injury, and her mulatto sister, strong and flaunting, standing on the hilltops, exposed to the sharpest stress of storm and sun. As you look at it full in the face, its size is dwarfed by the towering cliffs above, and you do not realize how deeply it is cut into the cliff until you remember how boldly it stands out against the sky when seen from a distance.

Was it originally temple or tomb, monument or gathering place? And did the many other cuttings: winding steps, chambers, ruined buildings, sacrificial places and tombs, belong to the period of its construction, or might not some of them have been far earlier? We could but guess; we let our imaginations run riot, but none of us knew, nor is it easy to know.



(See Chapter IV) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Entrance to Sîḳ of al-Bârid

IX

THE MONUMENTS OF PETRA

Beyond all question the monumental remains of Petra rank among the most remarkable in all the world. Caves, graves, temples, altars, shrines, and a host of other excavations have been carved out of the richly colored sandstone rocks about Petra with such incredible cleverness, that visitors are wont to stand in awe and amazement at the uniqueness of the place and the artistic genius of the ancients. Of course the Khazneh, the Dair, and the Great High Place are the most celebrated of all; but there are literally hundreds of other monuments and relics, many of which are surprisingly beautiful. Even a large rock-hewn theater, and a tunnel are among the wonders of this most luring, hermit, rock-hewn Necropolis. The whole city is a cemetery, set in all the colors of the rainbow.

> It seems no work of man's creative hand,
> By labor wrought as wavering fancy planned:
> But from the rock as if by magic grown,
> Eternal, silent, beautiful, alone!
> Not virgin white, like that old Doric shrine
> Where erst Athena held her rites divine;
> Not saintly-grey, like many a minster fane
> That crowns the hill and consecrates the plane;
> But rosy-red, as if the blush of dawn
> That first beheld them were not yet withdrawn;
> The hues of youth upon a brow of woe,
> Which man deemed old two thousand years ago.
> Match me such marvel save in Eastern clime,
> A rose-red city, half as old as time.[1]

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[1] Dean Burgon's prize sonnet, "Petra," 145.

But alas!

> How changed—how fallen! all her glory fled,
> The widow'd city mourns her many dead,
> Like some fond heart which gaunt disease hath left
> Of all it lived for—all it loved—bereft:
> Mute in its anguish: struck with pangs too deep
> For words to utter, or for tears to weep.

To-day all these splendidly carved tombs and temples are marred, and in the processes of decay. The slow but persistent effects of natural erosion have been accelerated by reckless Oriental iconoclasm, until every sepulcher has been completely emptied, and not even an inscription remains to identify the dead. It is accordingly impossible to date Petra's monuments with any precision. We can only guess from the different types of architecture and a few other hints that are at hand, that probably the great majority of them belong to the period between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. Some of course may be much earlier; others, later. Even to classify them architecturally is exceedingly arduous. Kennedy attempts to group them under five heads: (1) the Rectilinear and Special type; (2) the Assyrian; (3) the Corniced; (4) the Classical; and (5) Monuments connected with Cult;[2] but these divisions seriously overlap. We here prefer to discuss them in the order in which one naturally meets them as he explores the city, entering from the east through the Sîḳ.

I. IN THE BÂB AS-SÎḲ

Approaching from 'Ain Mûsa and the little village of Alji, and following the valley of Wâdi Mûsa, the first objects of architectural interest to attract attention are natural caves. Brünnow has estimated that there are in and about Petra over sixty, small and great. Many of them were probably used as dwelling places in primitive times by the aboriginal Horites, or Troglodytes; possibly even by the sons of Esau. They are found in different parts of the city, but especially in Wâdi Mûsa, Wâdi Sîyagh, and along the northeastern mountain boundary wall of the city site. In most cases they are perfectly plain, being without façade or decoration. Some of them are still used occasionally as dwelling places by the *fellaḥîn,* or peasant Arabs.

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[2] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 38-70.

As we follow down the Wâdi, we soon come upon common, simple, rectangular rock-cut graves. There are several of these in Bâb as-Sîḳ, in Wâdi Mûsa between the Khazneh and the Theater, and elsewhere. They often occur in groups. Most of them are without cover-stones. Some are shallow; others, as deep as ten feet. Some are double, the one being above the other; the two cavities being sometimes connected with a perpendicular shaft. Many are cut in the floors and side walls of tomb chambers.

Especially conspicuous in Bâb as-Sîḳ are certain huge, gray, rock bowlders, which have been squared into towers. They occur almost exclusively in Bâb as-Sîḳ, in the lower part of Wâdi Mûsa between the Khazneh and the Theater, and in the white sandstone section of the city as one goes southwest on the way to Jabal Nabi Harûn. Musil calls them "Sahrij," which is an Arabic word, derived from a Persian root meaning "reservoir," because they resemble great water tanks both in size and shape. They stand some fifteen to twenty feet square, and from twenty to thirty feet high, varying of course in measurement. Brünnow reports that there are twenty-six of them, of which not more than half have tomb chambers. Kennedy suggests that those towers which show no signs of intended sepulchral use may have been regarded, "simply as a glorified version of the block symbol of Dusares, used by their constructors to represent the deity they worshiped, or of the altar used in his worship."[3] The three, especially conspicuous in Bâb as-Sîḳ, have flat tops.

A singular and most interesting monument of this same type is the so-called "Snake" tower in the southwestern part of the city. It is really unique, even among Petra's great variety of carved monuments. The coils of a serpent wind round a great central block of live rock, which in turn rests upon a vast square tower pedestal, or altar, cut down on all four sides. This great spiral-crowned tower points, as has been suggested, to a kind of ancient serpent worship, and, therefore, may antedate all other altars and shrines and sanctuaries in Petra. The belief in the power of the serpent was widespread in ancient times. In Egypt, for example, a custom prevailed, of keeping a live snake in the larger temples as a representative of the tutelary divinity. Live snakes were kept also at the Greek temple of Æsculapius at Epidanros, and were believed to help in curing maladies.[4] The place of the serpent in Semitic and also in the Hebrew religion is well known.[5] The "Python" in some parts of the Orient was regarded as a title of honor, even more than to be called a "Lion." Snake veneration was not unknown, indeed, to Moses and the children of Israel. In Numbers 21:4-9, when the Israelites murmured because they were compelled to compass the land of Edom, and in consequence were bitten by fiery serpents, Moses, we read, made a serpent of brass and set it upon a standard, and when anyone who was bitten looked unto the serpent of brass he lived! In due time, Moses' serpent, which had been set up, probably, without idolatrous intent, came to be an object of idolatrous worship; for Hezekiah in the eighth century B.C.

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[3] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 41.

[4] Cf. G. A. Frank Knight, *Nile and Jordan,* 1921, pp. 306, 307.

[5] Cf. Baudissen, *Studien zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte,* i, pp. 257-292.

destroyed it (2 Kings 18:4). The "Snake" monument, accordingly, can well be regarded as originally Edomitic!

The most interesting of all the monuments in Bâb as-Sîḳ is the *Obelisk,* or *Pyramid Tomb* which is located on the south side of the Wâdi. It is really a double tomb; for there are really two tombs, of different dates, the one above the other. The upper tomb with its four obelisks is the older of the two. The lower one is Roman work, of a purely classical type. The four obelisks of the upper tomb are slender, truncated pyramids, some twenty-three feet in height; they are the only ones in Petra, though the obelisk form occurs frequently in graffiti. The tomb has an inner chamber some twenty by sixteen feet in size. Burckhardt calls it a "mausoleum," which it probably was.[6] The chamber has two apparently sepulchral recesses upon either side, and one in the back wall. The plain simplicity of the monument, accompanied by the obelisks, indicates antiquity.

The other monument, or Classical Tomb, below, is plainly Roman in its architecture, and because of its florid design is thought to belong to the late classical period. The façade is exceptionally low, and yet loaded with ornamentation in the Roman style. Irby and Mangles criticize it as "in bad taste, with an infinity of broken lines and unnecessary angles and projections, and multiplied pediments and half pediments, and pedestals set upon columns that support nothing. It has more the air of a fantastical scene in a theater than an architectural work in stone."[7] The six engaged Ionic columns are about twelve feet high, and support an ornate pediment with a decorated arched cornice. The tomb has a central chamber, twenty-four by twenty-one feet in size, which is a triclinium with benches seven feet broad on three sides. In the back wall of this chamber there are two rather

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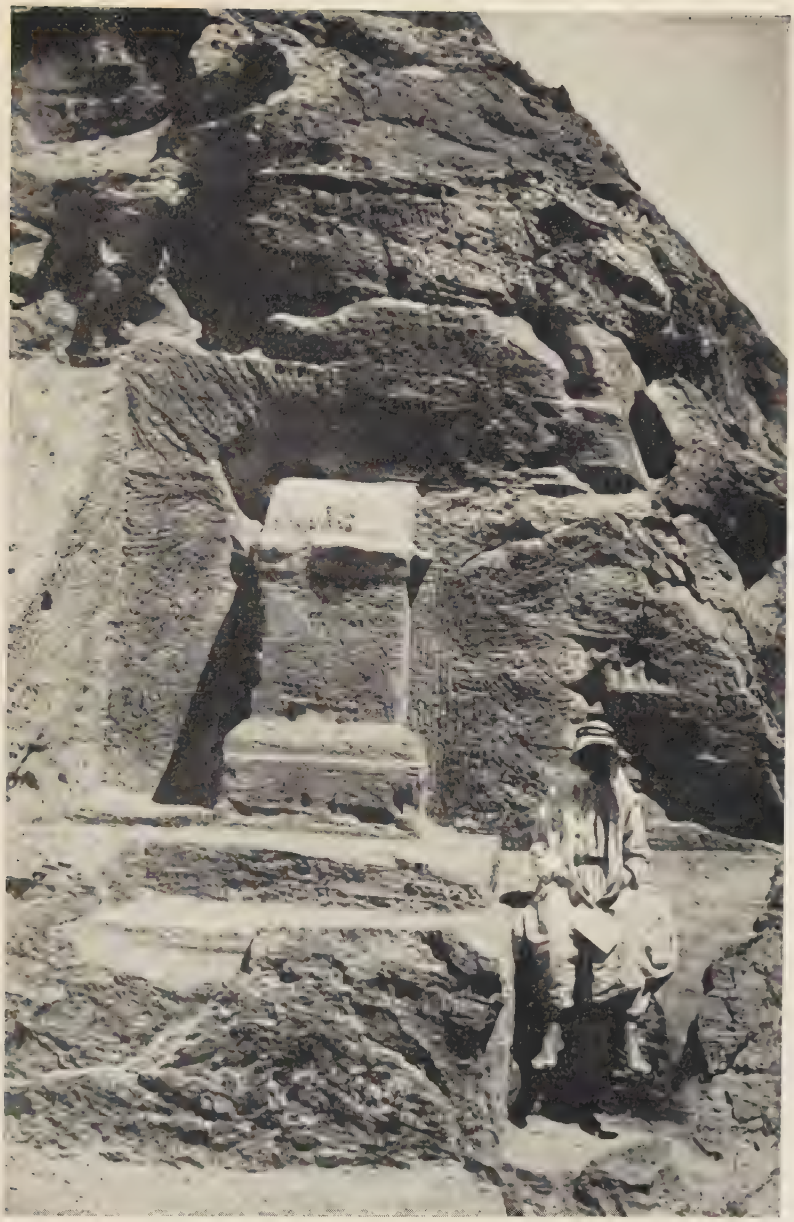
[6] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* 1822, p. 422.

[7] *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land,* 1868, p. 124.



(See Chapter VI) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Ancient Altar (above Wâdi Farasa) en route to Great High Place deep recesses, which were intended perhaps as ossuaries.[8] In the two side chambers there are five and four cavities, respectively, which were likewise intended as graves; two are double graves. As to its date, the proportions of this monument, but in particular its low façade compared with other façades, naturally force one to conclude that the obelisk tomb was carved some time before the classical one was begun.

Just before entering the Sîḳ itself, on the right hand, and about four hundred feet from Wâdi Mûsa, is a *Tunnel,* which has been cut through a narrow shoulder of high rock. It is three hundred feet long, from twenty to thirty feet high, and on the average about forty feet wide. The purpose of digging it was probably to divert the waters of Wâdi Mûsa in time of flood from rushing too irresistibly through the narrow Sîḳ, into Wâdi Mudhlim, and so to find their way north and west, back through the city by a circuitous route into Wâdi Mûsa. As the bowlders in the bottom of the Sîḳ show, after heavy rains the volume of water which rushes down through the gorge of the Sîḳ is so great as to be destructive to pavements, aqueducts, sacred shrines, everything. Though the Tunnel was never walled up or arched over, it was nevertheless a much needed and very clever device on the part of the Romans to preserve their other works.[9]

II. IN THE SÎḲ

Within the Sîḳ itself there are several niches and other mural monuments. According to Gray Hill,[10] it was in the year 1896 that the Arch, which once spanned the chasm of the Sîḳ some fifty paces from its eastern end, gave way and fell. Only the butments, which sustained it, remain.[11] They are strongly entrenched in the face of the rock. Immediately below them are two large niches, one on either side, ornamented with pilasters and probably intended for statues. The height of the Arch must have been eighty to one hundred feet above the bottom of Wâdi Mûsa. What its intended purpose was is a matter of speculation. Stanley interpreted it as "meant apparently to indicate the approach to the city." [12] Laborde, as *"un grand arc de triomphe."* [13] Others have supposed it was built "to commemorate some victory"; [14] or that it was meant to support an aqueduct, or, as a bridge; but these last two suppositions are quite impossible.

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[8] Cf. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 114.

[9] Kennedy's idea that the tunnel was probably "a natural feature" is quite impossible, *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 73.

[10] *Quarterly Statement,* 1897, p. 134.

Most of the mural monuments in the Sîḳ are small panels, or recesses; plain rectangular blocks, or block reliefs. There is one in particular, much more extensive than all the rest, which has ten niches, or reliefs in it, side by side, all varying in size. The question naturally arises, Is each one a symbol of a separate deity?

> Rather, each block represents [as Kennedy thinks] the devotion or recollection of some one person for the god of the place. In this particular case it is not far-fetched to suppose that a family of ten (husband, wives and sons, or father, sons and grandsons) desired to recognize the goodness of Dusares in bringing them safely across the desert.[15]

There are several other individual niches.

The *Khazneh,* which greets the eye long before the explorer has actually issued from the Sîḳ, is the glory of the gorge. It is the most remarkable monument, as we have already seen, in the entire Necropolis. It faces the exit of the Sîḳ. No other rock-hewn edifice, even in Petra, can really be said to compare with it. It was presumably a royal mausoleum. It dates very probably from the first century A.D., as its style is not Roman, but Hellenistic; the pomp and decoration of the late Roman architecture being entirely wanting. On the other hand, the Corinthian capitals, the elaborate moldings, the decorative reliefs on flat surfaces, and the free use of statues and carved animals, show that either the Nabateans were themselves capable of such workmanship, or that they employed, like Solomon when constructing the Temple in Jerusalem, foreign architects and foreign workmen to execute it. One authority groups the Khazneh with the Corinthian Tomb and the Dair and makes them "all based on foreign models, which may be supposed to have been carried out to the order of foreigners, with foreign designers, and possibly foreign workmen"!

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[11] Olin, who saw it while still standing, speaks of it as a "venerable arch," *Travels,* etc., ii, 1843, p. 39.

[12] *Sinai and Palestine,* 1890, p. 156.

[13] *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée,* 1830, p. 58.

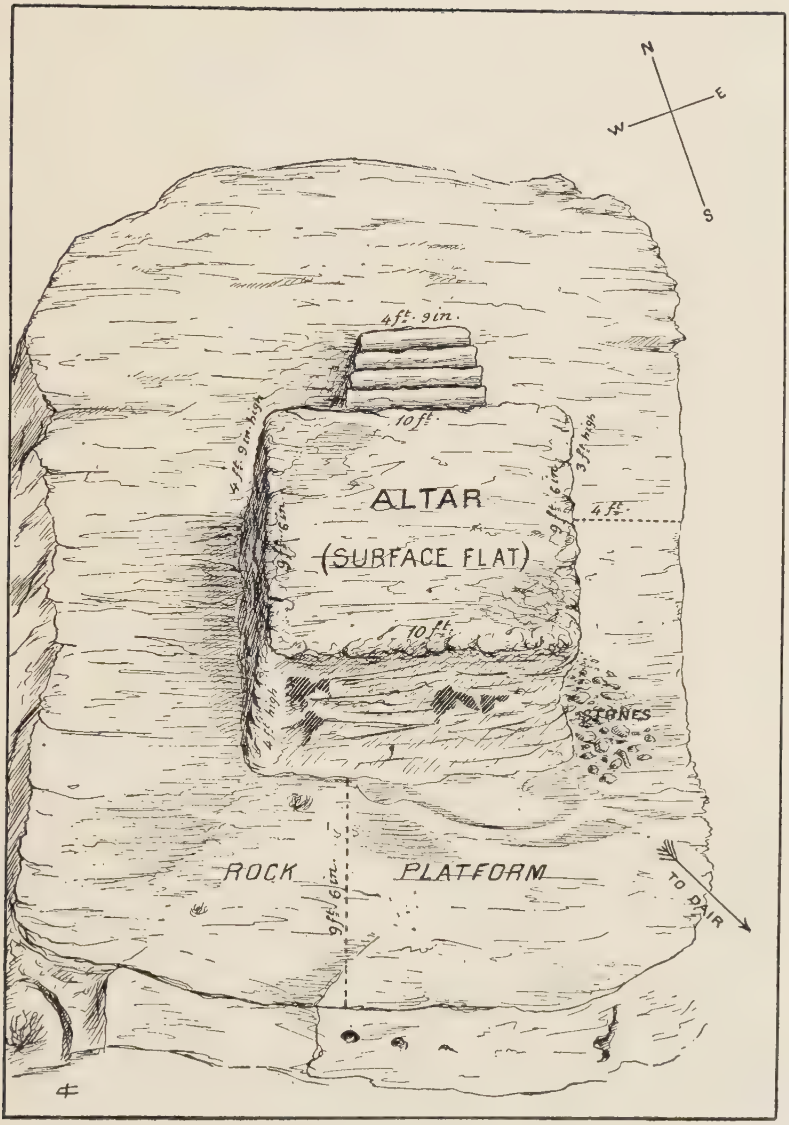
[14] Bartlett, *Forty Days in the Desert,* 1848, p. 128.

[15] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 73.

III. IN THE LOWER SÎḲ

The stretch of Wâdi Mûsa between the Khazneh and the Theater is by some spoken of as "the outer Sîḳ," but this designation, to us, is misleading, as it is all really within the city site, not outside. We prefer, therefore, to speak of it as the Lower Sîḳ.

In this stretch, on both sides of the Wâdi Mûsa, there are numerous monuments of the so-called Assyrian type. Brünnow calls them "Pylons." They are characterized by plain angled capitals and crow-step gables. Some have double horizontal lines of gables, each line being subdivided into units, and at each end of a line a half gable. Each gable has four steps. There are many examples of such here, in the Lower Sîḳ. Others are to be seen in Wâdi ad-


N
W
E
S
4 ft. 9 in.
4 ft. 9 in. high
10 ft.
3 ft. high
ALTAR
(SURFACE FLAT)
9 ft. 6 in.
9 ft. 6 in.
4 ft.
10 ft.
4 ft. high
STONES
ROCK
PLATFORM
9 ft. 6 in.
TO DAIR

(See Chapter VI)

Great Altar near the Dair

Dair, at an-Nasara, at the foot of al-Biryâra, and in the Ma'aisarah district of the northwest. Many monuments of this type have chambers, with loculi, or idol-niches and graves. The most complete of all is found in Wâdi Thughra on the way to Jabal Nabi Harûn. It has a double story, and a large chamber thirty-six by twenty-four feet, with a rather complicated system of grave niches. It also has two long openings in its façade for either light or ventilation.

In the Lower Sîḳ near the Theater is another Nabatean tomb, carrying crow-step decoration and also heavy quadrantal cornices, in which Gray Hill claims to have found in 1896 a Nabatean inscription which mentions the brother of a queen of the Nabateans, of a date corresponding to 71 A.D.[16] This tomb is not to be confounded with the more famous one, in the Turkmanîya Valley, known as the "Tomb with the Nabatean Inscription." On it, in a Nabatean inscription of five lines, it is stated that this monument and the great and little halls inside of it, as well as the garden, are sacred and dedicated to Dusares and to his holy throne, and to all the gods. Nothing whatever is to be altered, and no one is to be buried in the tomb, or to have any use of it except those designated in the official papers! Though no names are given, and there is no clue as to its exact date, it is thought to be the product of the first century B.C. Euting, however, has expressed the opinion that it must date from a time when the Nabatean reckoning was no longer permissible. This would throw its date forward to the beginning of the second century A.D., after the Roman occupation had begun.[17]

This Nabatean monument gives every necessary proof of having been a tomb. It contains two chambers, one opening into the other. The outer and larger one is about thirty-five feet square, the inner one about thirty-five by twenty feet. Between these two chambers is a recess intended for two bodies side by side. Many of the tombs of this corniced or crow-step type have quite plain fronts and very simple doorways. A striking exception, however, is the huge corniced double-story monument near the Theater in the Lower Sîḳ which has a very elaborate doorway. There are others still more decorated in the Nasara region. and on the east side of Wâdi Ma'aisarah.

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[16] *Quarterly Statement,* 1897, p. 136.

[17] Cf. Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia,* i, 1904, p. 365.

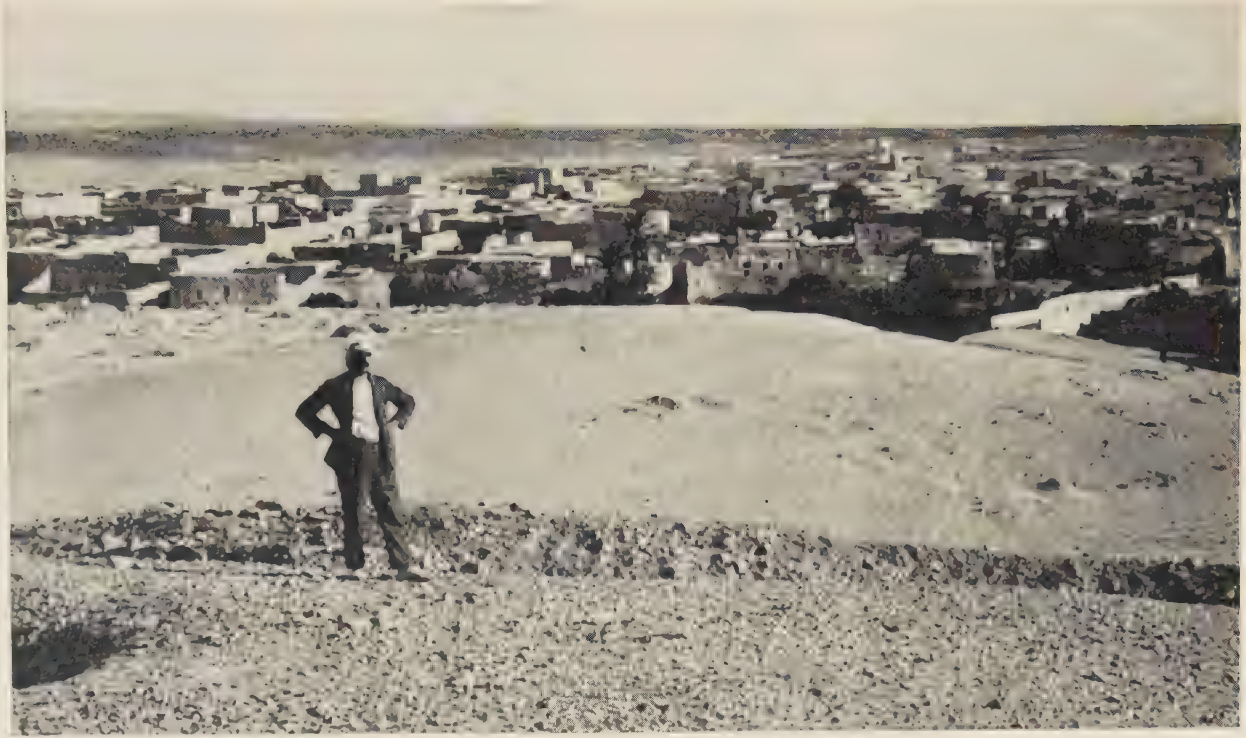
Located at the lower end of this stretch of the Sîḳ is the Theater itself, which in magnitude is the greatest monument in Petra of Roman skill. It is cut entirely out of the solid rock. It has thirty-three rows of red and purple benches, rising one above the other in the side of the cliff behind. These have been carved with praiseworthy precision, and when new must have accommodated from three thousand to four thousand spectators. The diameter of the Podium is one hundred and twenty feet. The scena was not excavated out of the rock like the other parts but was built up with masonry. It is now fallen and only a few bases and columns which once stood surrounding it are still to be seen. The Theater itself, which was semi-circular, faces the east by northeast. Its benches are still fairly well preserved. The great cave-like openings which are seen in the back wall behind the Theater are presumably tomb cavities; through which the Romans ruthlessly cut to make room for a playhouse!

IV. ON THE NORTHEAST WALL OF THE CITY

Passing the Theater and keeping to the right, we soon come to the most imposing series of rock-hewn tombs in all Petra. They are cut into the northeast wall of the city which is known as al-Khubtha. Most of them are of pure classical, or Roman type. The first large one is known as the Urn tomb. The rock-front of the monument has been so cut down as to provide a large flat area or court in front of the Tomb, over seventy feet wide, adorned with Doric porticoes on either side. Five ancient arches of solid masonry sustain this area, which naturally furnishes the Temple tomb an imposing setting. Some of these arches are still in place, but most of them are buried under the ruins of those that have fallen. Over this great mass of fallen stones, it is necessary to scramble in order to reach the level area. When first built, however, it was probably reached by broad steps. Excavation here would probably reveal much of architectural value.

The Tomb itself is an elegant structure surmounted by a large urn, which is the principal ornament of the entire edifice; and which, like all the other urns of Petra, has been the target of many musket balls. The façade is that of a Grecian temple, except that the four tall pilasters on its face are in raised relief, one half of each being buried in the rock. The door has a classical architecture over two pilasters, which, in turn, have Nabatean capitals. The attic under the porch has three windows, but it is so disintegrated that its details are hardly distinguishable. There is a large rectangular opening directly over the door. The interior consists of a huge chamber about sixty-two by fifty-two feet in dimension, with a number of recesses or loculi in it, which have been thrown together, to turn what was once a tomb into a church. A Greek inscription, in red paint, on a panel in the back wall at the extreme left as you enter, records the fact of its consecration to Christian worship by a bishop whose date is identified as 447 A. D. This is the latest date connected with Petra. Unfortunately the inscription is not very intelligible.

Just north of this Urn tomb stands another, called



(See Chapter III)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Ma'ân

the Corinthian Tomb. It resembles in many particulars the Khazneh, and, like it, belongs to the classical type of architecture. It is not however so well cut, nor is it indeed plumb; and, therefore, it is supposed to have been a Roman adaptation of some old Edomite structure. It is approximately eighty feet broad and one hundred feet high; and, like the Khazneh, has a second story, in which is a central cylindrical tower adorned with pilasters and capitals. The whole façade is terribly eroded. The lower part has eight round pilasters with Corinthian capitals; and, hence, the whole is called the Corinthian Tomb. Much of it has fallen away entirely. It contains three chambers, the one on the left hand being about forty by thirty feet in size, having six loculi.

Closely adjoining this Tomb is yet another; which, when new, must have been of surpassing beauty. It is still one of the most beautiful monuments in Petra. Some have designated it, too, as a Corinthian tomb, because it has Corinthian capitals. Kennedy calls it "the Palace," because its immense façade is in arrangement a copy of the front of a Roman palace.[18] The French call it the "three-storied" tomb (*Trois Etages*). It is one of the largest in Petra. In design there is no other in Petra like it. It has three stories and four doors, with large columns rising between.[19] The second and third stories have eighteen columns each. Quite possibly, as Irby has suggested, "the rock being insufficient for the total elevation, a part of the third storey was grafted on in masonry."[20] In any case it has almost wholly fallen away. The extreme height of the façade when first constructed could have easily been ninety feet. Its breadth is fully one hundred and twenty-five feet. It faces directly across Wâdi Mûsa and the city site to Ḳasr Fir'aûn. It has four entrances, with Roman lintels and architraves, which lead into four separate rectangular chambers. These, in turn, have numerous recesses in their side and back walls. Close to the great monument itself, on the left, there stands a large rectangular mass of rock, in whose front there are also recesses, which, like those in the interior, were probably intended as graves.

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[18] *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, 1925, p. 51.

[19] Kinnear thinks it once had four stories; but this is very doubtful.

[20] *Travels*, etc., 1868, p. 131.

Not far to the north of these specially commanding tombs in the Khubtha Wall, there is a still more celebrated one with a Latin inscription; the lettering of which, though somewhat obliterated, stands in three lines over the entrance, and gives the name of Quintus Prætextus Florentinus. The tomb is supposed by Laborde to belong to the time of Hadrian, or Antoninus Pius, ca. 140 A. D. It is sometimes called the "Tomb of the Governor." In point of beauty it is considered by some the grandest of all the smaller monuments in Petra! The façade is richly ornamented, and its beauty enhanced by exceptional natural coloring. The interior is a large chamber with five niches for graves in its rear wall. There are two others in the right wall. The small chamber adjacent looks like a shrine. At all events, the monument was unquestionably a burial place, belonging to the classical type.

V. In the City Bottom

Shortly after passing the Theater, Wâdi Mûsa broadens out into a comparatively low and undulating plain which may be regarded as the city's true site. The dwelling houses of the city were probably, for the most part, built on the north side of the Wâdi, while the public buildings seem chiefly to have stood to the south of it; for the main street or thoroughfare of the city apparently followed the south bank of the stream. The first ruin which attracts attention is the *Triple Triumphal Arch,* which may have formed the entrance to the sacred precincts of a temple near by. The north pier of this arch is still standing, though seriously dilapidated and tottering. Its sculptures have nearly all perished. Fragments of masonry, however, lie here and there, among which to be noticed is a lintel with the figure of a lion upon it. The architectural decorations and carvings, for the most part, all point to the Roman or classical period.

A short distance to the south of this Triumphal Arch are the vanishing ruins of a temple, which probably had six columns at each end and at least eleven on each side. It lies in hopeless ruins, the materials having been scattered, or carried quite away. Still farther to the south stands a solitary column, called by the Arabs *Zubb Fir'aûn,* "the Phallus of Pharaoh." It is the only column in all Petra still standing.

Following the ancient highway west from the Triumphal Arch, or Triple Gate, there are, as in the Sîḳ, traces still of an ancient Roman pavement, with faint proofs also of a once commanding colonnade on the north side of the thoroughfare. A little farther along, on the south side of the Wâdi, stands the only building constructed of masonry in Petra. It is called by the Arabs Ḳasr Fir'aûn, or "Pharaoh's Castle." The enclosing walls of the structure, as also the inner walls of the cella, are still standing. The latter are ornamented with stucco, or plaster plaques, pinned on to the masonry, which indicates a rather late Roman origin; very probably after 100 A.D., when the Romans took possession of the city. The building is about ninety feet square, having four columns, six feet six inches in diameter, at the entrance of the pronaos which is quite open. The walls are ornamented with wreaths; the cornices bear triglyphs and shields. The posterior of the cella consists of a nave and two-storied aisles. In the center of the cella probably stood the image of the deity to which the temple was dedicated. The rear walls of the edifice were massive, and about three feet apart. By a stairway between these walls one ascended to the upper story. Belonging to the edifice, yet separate from it, in front, between it and the valley bed of Wâdi Mûsa, stands a large altar, built also of masonry, 41½ feet square by 6½ feet high, having a square hollow in its upper center.

VI. ON THE ACROPOLIS HILL

Directly west of the Ḳasr Fir'aûn, only two hundred feet distant, more or less, rises the so-called Acropolis Hill of Petra, known to the Arabs as al-Ḥabîs. It is 3250 feet above sea level, or about six hundred feet above the bed of Wâdi Mûsa which touches its base. By means of artificially cut stairs at its southeast corner, it is possible to climb to the summit, upon which are the ruins of an ancient fortification, which has a deep cistern in connection with it. Roberts is quite wrong when he says that "the crag is now inaccessible." Some of us know the contrary, having climbed it. The view of the city from the top is extensive.

Among the tombs on the sides of al-Ḥabîs, the most unique is what is sometimes called the Columbarium. It is on the north side almost directly opposite the Ḳasr Fir'aûn. The façade of this tomb is carved full of small holes, about ten inches square and from six to ten inches deep; many of which are still choked up altogether. Whether these regularly cut cavities, which cover not only the façade of the tomb, but also its interior walls, were intended to serve as depositories of the ashes of the dead, or were mere pigeonholes, as Dalman suggests, it is difficult to say.[21] Perhaps, as has been suggested, dovecotes were considered sacred to the consort of Dusara, the god of wine; and being located in the near vicinity of the City Temple, it is natural to suppose that either the sacrifice of pigeons played an important rôle in Petra as in Israel (Lev. 1:14; 5:7; 12:6ff.; 15:14, 29), or that the dove was dedicated to some deity as especially sacred.[22]

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[21] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 230.

Next door almost to the Columbarium on al-Ḥabîs is the Unfinished Tomb; which is of special interest because it shows how the workmen in ancient times, when sculpturing the façades of their sepulchers, after smoothing the face of the rock, began at the top and worked downwards, thus avoiding the need of a scaffolding, and preventing their carving from being injured by falling chips of stone and débris. This method is said to be also that of modern stone-cutters to-day in India. It was probably the easiest way of proceeding. In the case of this Unfinished Tomb, the face of the rock was first scarped away; they then cut buttresses on each side; capitals of columns were then carved, and next the columns were cut down to their base. Thus, the weight of the upper portions of each column was reduced, and the danger of their becoming top heavy was overcome. On the contrary, the capitals were always supported solidly during the process until the task was completed. But, for some reason unknown to us, in the case of this tomb, the work was abandoned. All they accomplished was to carve four capitals and the entablature above, excavate a chamber, and provide in it recesses for the dead, and open an entrance at the left; when, either because of the expense entailed, and the limited resources of the family to which it belonged, or, by death, the family gave up the idea of completing it. As Laborde remarks in another connection, "One would be inclined to think that the former

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[22] Cf., however, Dr. Post's description of a columbarium, which he found near 'Ammân and 'Arak al-Amîr, and which closely resembles this at Petra.

(See Chapter III)

(Photograph by the Author)

Tafila

population had no employment which was not connected with death, and that they had been all surprised by death during the performance of some funeral solemnities."[23]

VII. ON THE WAY TO THE DAIR

Starting from a point in Wâdi Mûsa near the Ḳasr Fir'aûn and al-Ḥabîs, and entering what the Arabs call Wâdi Me'arras Ḥamdân, which leads up northwest to the Dair, the monument which first attracts attention is the so-called Lion Tomb. It is a triclinium of the Classical type; and is called the "Lion" tomb, because two lions are carved in low relief on the façade, one on either side of the entrance; presumably to guard the tomb. A shallow niche on the left, containing the block symbol of Dusares, points to a Nabatean origin; but, the elaborate frieze of the façade and the engraved decoration between the wings of the capitals indicate a late Roman date. The architrave is embellished with heads of Medusa above the pilasters. There is a circular opening, probably intended to let in light, above the door. Brünnow describes this monument as a "Tempelgrab";[24] Kennedy thinks it is "a triclinium, and not a grave";[25] the late Dr. G. E. Post, at one time the author's colleague in the American University at Beirût, and in July, 1907, a companion in exploring Petra, thought it might be an *ossuarium;* that is, a place where the bones of the dead were deposited after being wrapped in cloth—bones that had been wrapped after the flesh had disappeared. There are many such monuments about Rome. We found in this tomb one bone with flesh dried upon it.

Farther along, on the east side of the same Wâdi, at the point where the Wâdi turns up to the left toward the Dair, there is another classical monument with Nabatean capitals and side pilasters, known as the grave with the *Three Urns*. It also is a Roman sepulcher. The two pilasters at the extreme sides of the façade are crowned with capitals which are clearly Nabatean, though some have described them as a sort of crude Ionic. At the top there is a pediment, or gable roof, on which stand three urns, one on the right, another on the left, and a third at the apex. The door, also, shows a mixed classical type of architecture. It leads into a large chamber which has benches on two sides; and at the left-hand corner of these, three steps lead up to a small recess in the rear. In the floor of the chamber, Kennedy reports having "found a grave in the right-hand half of the floor extending under the back-wall. The grave was rebated round the edge for a stone cover. In it there were still two bones. . . . It was obviously a triclinium, presumably for funeral feasts." [26]

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[23] *Journey through Arabia Petræa,* etc., 1838, p. 164.

[24] *Die Provincia Arabia,* i, 1904, p. 328.

[25] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 57.

Climbing up with some difficulty a narrow gorge which is called Wâdi ad-Dair, we eventually come to a plateau on the north of which stands an edifice which exceeds in size even the Khazneh, and, in a sense, rivals it for beauty. It is called by the Arabs *ad-Dair,* or "the Monastery." It is carved out of the gray sandstone rock characteristic of that region, and stands five hundred and sixty feet above the city site. Like the Khazneh and the Corinthian Tomb it is of the Classical type of architecture, though considerably more florid. A high jutting cliff of the mountain was first cut away to give the proper relief and perspective to this stupendous monument; for it is gigantic in its measurements. The façade of the Temple is approximately one hundred and fifty feet wide by one hundred and thirty feet high. In front of it a broad esplanade has been artificially leveled to enhance its beauty, and give it a proper setting. A flight of steps is ingeniously carved to the summit in the great rock on the left. From the top an unusually extensive view is obtainable. The edifice faces the west by southwest. The whole aspect of its exterior is decidedly that of a heathen temple.

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[26] *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, pp. 52, 57, 58.

In point of architecture, Bartlett describes it as "a gigantic monument, producing, from its vastness and the wildness of its situation, an impression almost of awe; but it is very defective in its style, for it is ponderous without grandeur and elaborate without elegance."[27] It is even more unfinished than the Khazneh; pedestals being left without statues, or urns, and niches being left empty. The architecture in fact is a curious mixture of Nabatean and Roman; the columns and capitals are a clumsy approach to the Ionic. Fortunately, like the Khazneh, the whole structure is exceedingly well preserved.

The façade consists of two stories, the lower of which is adorned with eight immense columns, semi-detached from the mother rock and supporting a pediment. Two large niches are cut in the façade next to the extreme columns on either side, which were probably intended for statues. The upper story is also supported by eight columns, each pair of the six inner ones forming a beautiful porch. The center one is a miniature temple surmounted by a dome, an enormous urn crowning the whole. Each one of the three divisions of the upper part had apparently a niche intended for a statue. How all the alleged statues which once filled these niches in Petra's many monuments have so completely disappeared is a mystery! The façade as a whole is still in a very perfect state of preservation. Though the temple has no windows, or other openings, it does have an immense door, some thirty feet high, which was ap-

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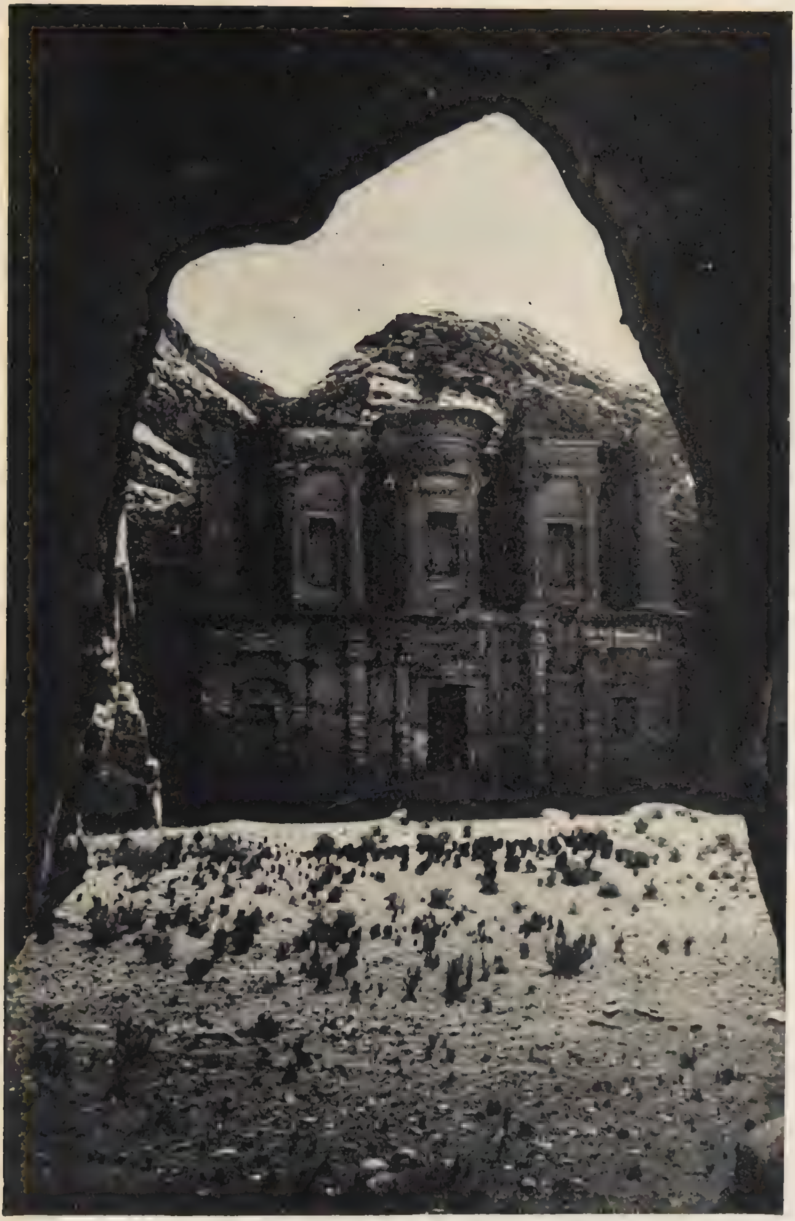
[27] *Forty Days in the Desert,* 1848, p. 137.



(See Chapter VIII) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

The Dair, from the west

proached by several steps, now, however, gone. This great door opens into a rectangular chamber 37½ by 39½ feet and 33 feet high. The walls of the interior are quite plain, without decoration or ornamentation. Directly opposite the entrance there is a recess, or broad arched niche, twelve feet wide by six feet deep, which shows some evidence that it was originally intended as an altar; or, possibly, for an idol. Four steps lead up to it on either side. Immediately above the altar there is a Greek Cross, painted on the wall. This naturally suggests to the Arabs the title which by them it appropriately bears, namely, ad-Dair, or "the Monastery." From certain crosses down in the Wâdi by which we came, it is well attested that there must have been somewhere at the top of this valley a place to which people made pilgrimages in Christian times. This Temple, accordingly, was probably the important shrine of Petra as soon as the city became converted to Christianity; and it probably continued to be the shrine of the people on through the Roman era. On this high Dair plateau, there are also other shrines and places of worship.

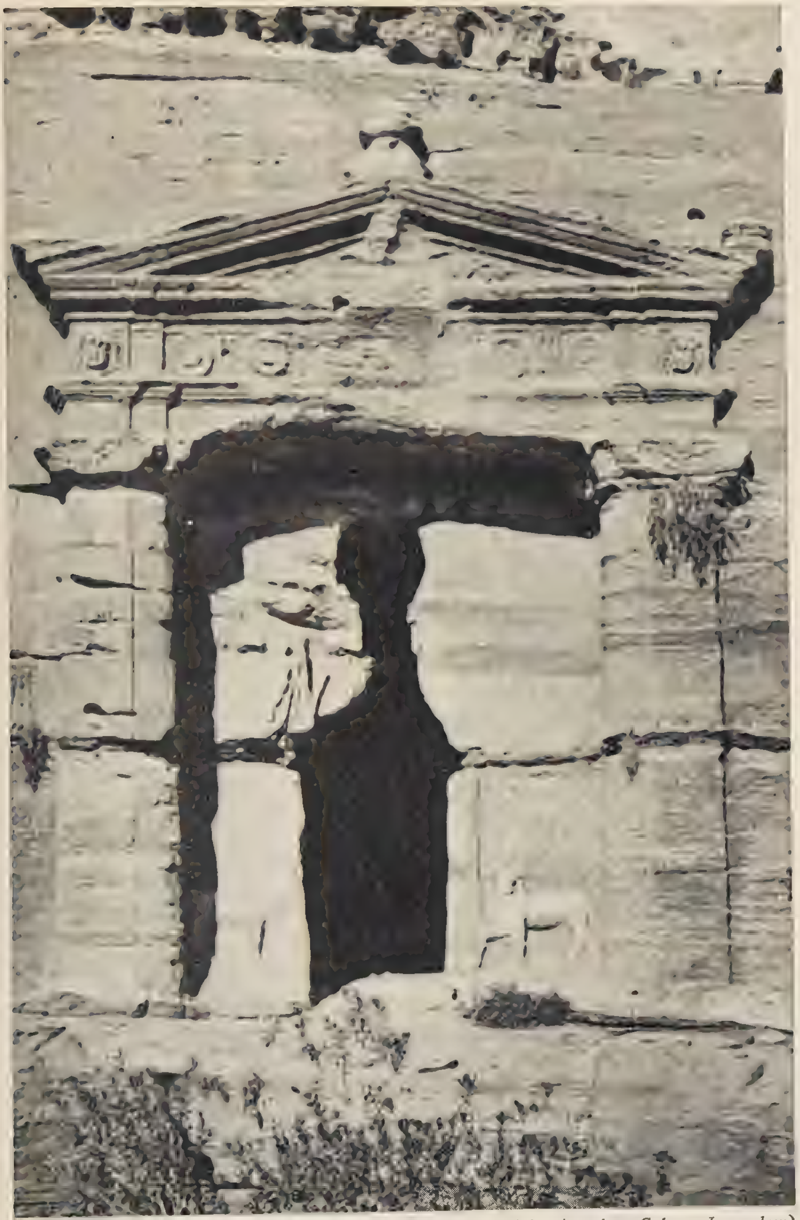
VIII. IN WÂDI FARASA

There is one other important valley in which some of Petra's choicest monuments are to be found, namely, in Wâdi Farasa, on the way up to the Great High Place. There is one in particular, on the west wall of Obelisk Ridge, whose interior and coloring are almost without a parallel. It is a large tomb, on the north side of Wâdi Farasa, known as the *Tomb with Fluted Columns.* Its inner chamber is at least thirty-five feet square; the back wall and the two side walls being each divided into five bays by twelve engaged columns which support the rock mass above them. The flutings are very narrow, yet quite distinct in spite of being abraded. Their coloring is really matchless. In each bay of these side walls there is a niche cut like a window, several feet above the floor of the cavity. One of them has been carved out as though intended for a grave. The floor of the great chamber is covered with loose stones, which, however, were probably imported for useful purposes by Arab shepherds. The front wall has three door openings. Taken as a whole, this monument is a very distinctively interesting excavation. It differs from all other tombs in Petra in being the only one which has any interior decorations. The exterior, on the other hand, is entirely destitute of ornament. The superbly beautiful coloring of the interior can only be imagined, even with the help of color photography.

Almost directly opposite this tomb, with the unique interior of colors and fluted columns, is the so-called *Statue Tomb,* or "Tomb of the Statues." It is also known as "the Soldier's Tomb." It is of pure classical design, having four pilasters and a plain frieze and pediment. There are three large niches between the four great pilasters which uphold a Roman pediment; they are still filled with the remains of three mutilated statues. Whether they were intended to represent soldiers is uncertain. Beside these three niches, at almost the same height in the façade, there are two openings like windows, one on the extreme right and the other on the extreme left. These were probably cut to admit light into the tomb chambers. In the interior there is first a large room more than forty feet long and almost forty feet broad; after this, there is a second chamber approximately as large. In these there are four niches with arched tops apparently for burials; for the monument was most certainly intended as a tomb.

Not far above these two very noteworthy sepulchers, in this same valley, Wâdi Farasa, on the east side, is the so-called *Garden Tomb.* From the standpoint of location and artistic beauty it is one of the most attractive in Petra. The monument is a miniature temple, beautifully situated on the side of a narrow valley, with a fine, clear, grassy, level space in front of it. The view northwestward down Wâdi Farasa and across the city bottom is one of the finest in Petra. The tomb is approached by a rather long and also broad flight of rock-cut steps. It is one of the few monuments in Petra which have free unattached columns with a portico. The Khazneh and a Temple Tomb in al-Bârid, alone, resemble it in this particular. Usually the columns are left attached to the mother rock, being chiseled round on but one side. There are four columns supporting the portico roof, having Doric capitals. The portico itself is approximately twenty-four by twenty feet in measurement. It leads into a large chamber some eighteen feet square, which has a window on its west side. In its rear there is a large recess which most likely was intended for burial purposes. In the portico there is a noteworthy gravestone, three feet long by one foot broad, having a rounded top in which there is an oval, and in the oval a star, the three apices of the triangular arms meeting in the center of the star. This tomb, accordingly, is peculiarly interesting, not only because it is of the Classical type, but because it bears silent witness to star-worship in Petra.

To the north of this Garden Tomb, on the north end of this same Obelisk Ridge, not far above the Theater, is a shrine consisting of a symbolical block (eighteen by seven inches in size), embedded in a deep niche, on each side of which is a rounded pilaster (about four feet in height), each one having on its top a crescent half-moon. This particular type of monument is exceedingly rare in Petra, but it witnesses to the fact, that not only the sun and the stars, but the moon, too, was at one time worshiped at Petra.



(See Chapter IX)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Tomb of Lions, in Wâdi ad-Dair

From the Garden Tomb upward to the Pillars of the Great High Place the climb is somewhat steep and fatiguing. Along the ordinary pathway, one passes a rather unique altar standing, on the left, undetached, like a gravestone, though without inscription. It is located, quite conspicuously, a short distance from a great rock escarpment on which a lion has been crudely carved. Kennedy describes this altar as "the most perfect" in Petra. Its height is approximately six feet. The upper portion is fittingly supplied with a base which is substantial and proportional, and on its head there are rudimentary "horns"!

Dalman claims to have seen one hundred and eighty such monuments, block idols, niches, and the like, in the city. There are, in fact, almost countless shrines, altars, sacred stones, niches, triclinia, loculi, circular hollows, reliefs, graffiti, columbaria, animal figures, tomb cavities, and other cuttings, indicative of cult customs and burial practices, scattered over all parts of this ancient Necropolis. But by far the most important of all to the student of religion are the High Places, about to be described.

X

THE GREAT HIGH PLACE

I. THE STORY OF ITS DISCOVERY

To an American editor, Mr. Edward L. Wilson, is due the credit of having been the first to *see* this great, and now celebrated, sanctuary.[1] To the author of this volume, however, is very graciously ascribed the honor of having been the first to have *recognized* its religious value, and to have interpreted it to the world.[2]

Mr. Wilson visted Petra in 1882, having encountered such difficulties with the Arabs as all explorers of Mt. Seir's recesses are wont to experience. He confesses that he was hurried, saying:

> The afternoon was waning, and I was obliged to make haste. The summit must be gained. The weird wildness of the scene, not without enchantment, was intensified by the shouting which came floating up to us from the lawless rabble who infested the caves near our tents. How pictures, each claiming attention, multiplied on every side! Alas! the day was nearly

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[1] Cf. *The Century Magazine,* 1885, xxxi, pp. 3-27; also, his volume, *In Scripture Lands,* 1890, pp. 104-107. His traveling companions were the Rev. Douglas Putnam Birnie of Rye, N. Y.; W. B. Ogden of Chicago; and W. H. Rau of Philadelphia.

[2] Kennedy recounts how Viscount Castlereagh, M. P., also spent as much as four days in Petra in 1842, and describes how he ascended the heights above the theater, where he found "some ruins with an excavation resembling a large shallow tank and two very insignificant obelisks, all more or less in ruins"; and comments, "Apparently he must have been looking at what is now recognized as a very perfect place of sacrifice without recognizing in any way its significance." (*Petra, Its History and Monuments* 1925, p. 22.)

> ended, the sunshine was going, and we must make the descent before dusk. Satisfied that there must be yet more, where there were so many wonders, I clambered down a rocky stairway, which I felt could not have been cut at so great expense of labor without a purpose, I crossed a short depression, ascended another stairway, and came out upon a summit which had been hewn to a level from one edge to the other. [Mr. Wilson gives a wrong impression here; as most of the summit is unhewn, natural rock.] There cut in the rocky platform are several curious tanks, and what must be an altar of sacrifice. [His oft-repeated use of the word "tank" is misleading, and very unfortunate: later on, he evidently thinks of the great "Court," also as a tank, which is quite absurd.] This is at the west side of the platform, on a rock by itself, to which four steps lead. [By "the platform" he means the circular altar of which he gives a drawing; ignoring completely the rectangular altar which is the more important of the two.][8] It consists of a shallow circular basin, forty-eight inches in diameter, in the middle of which is a deeper depression eighteen inches across. This was designed no doubt to catch the blood. From it runs a small drain drilled through the rock and leading into a tank.

As a matter of fact, it does not lead into any cavity, and from an Oriental's point of view it could not; for no "tank" could possibly be the intended receptacle of blood poured out in libation. He continues,

> I looked upon my discovery *as one of the altars in high places* [the italics are ours], consecrated to Baal or other false gods, of which the Old Testament speaks

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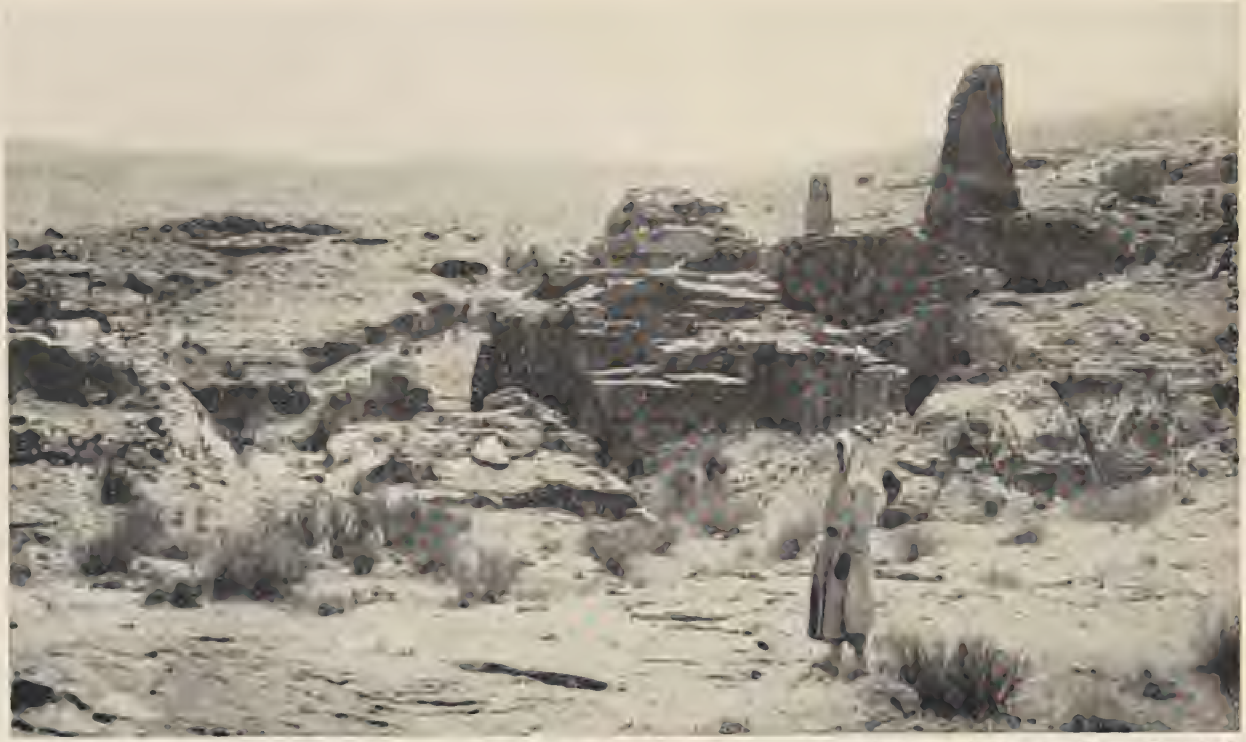
[8] Kennedy criticizes Wilson's description of the Great High Place at this point, remarking, "he does not seem to think much of what appears to be the principal altar" (cf. his *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 24).

> with words of warning. A tiny recess was hewn at the left of the stairway, where the pans, shovels, basins, flesh-hooks and censers may have been stored by heathen priests. [This, however, is a very improbable interpretation of this recess; just a little before, he had assumed that it was a "tank"]. There are other tanks and possibly remains of other altars on the plateau. Below these, further to the south, is still another tank [he refers here to the Laver of the High Place; to which his favorite title, "tank" is not so absolutely inappropriate], filled with good water and containing some comical little fish. I caught some of them. They are blind, like those in the Mammoth Cave. All these tanks are lowest at the south east, and are supplied, there, with outlets cut in the rock, leading into channels down the mountain. Descending a narrow gorge, I came out by the theatre.

We have thus given Mr. Wilson's account in full, that his own estimate of the sanctuary, which he was the first to discover, might speak for itself. Obviously, his story is that of a hurried visitor, who was but a layman in the field of archæology, and who had but a very feeble appreciation of what he saw. On the whole, however, Mr. Wilson is to be commended for his persistence in climbing to the top of the height, and for his intuition that he had discovered "one of the altars in high places," and that it was a relic of great antiquity. Unfortunately, for eighteen years, no one in the Biblical or archæological world seems ever to have read, or even heard of, his "altars" and "tanks." That he was actually there, however, and saw them, cannot be denied; but his published description of the whole place is so brief, so indefinite, so lacking in scientific appreciation, and, as Kennedy puts it, so "singularly inaccurate," it made absolutely no impression. In any case, the present writer knew nothing of Mr. Wilson's having ever seen it, until subsequent to his own visit and independent rediscovery of it.

Our story of its rediscovery is as follows:

It was on May 3, 1900, that I climbed to the top of a high ridge, which the Arabs are sometimes wont to call Zubb 'Artûf. During the early Spring of that same year, I had crossed on camels the desert of Israel's wanderings from Suez to Mt. Sinai, and north by Kadesh-barnea and Gaza to Jerusalem. While in Cairo I had diligently sought for a dragoman who was willing to attempt to escort me to Petra, but no one could be found. Indeed, even in Jerusalem, no native guide would consent to venture to enter the region of Mt. Seir. At length, however, a friend in the Holy City recommended to me a missionary named Archibald Forder, who had spent seven years in Moab, and who, therefore, knew the customs and dialect of the Arabs over Jordan and east of the Dead Sea. With some hesitation he consented to conduct me to Petra; but he stipulated one condition, namely, that all customary equipment of tents and canteen, and all luxury of every sort should be left behind. Only by assuming the garb of mendicants and throwing ourselves upon the hospitality of the Bedouin along the way, eating their food, sleeping along with them on the ground and in general living like Arabs, could we hope to reach our goal and return in safety. His stipulations were accepted; and, as a matter of fact, out of the nineteen nights we were gone, we slept in the open, or in Arab tents, on the ground, thirteen. For our protection the Turkish Governor at Kerak required us to take with us two soldiers into Edom. And upon our arrival at Alji, a village near Petra, two more in military regalia thrust themselves upon us. These, and the shaikh of the village, proceeded to dictate to us what we might see and what we might not see. For example, they warned



(See Chapter X)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

The two maẓẓeboth, near Great High Place us that if we attempted to ascend their sacred mountain, Jabal Nabi Harûn (Mt. Hor?), they would "cut our throats." We didn't climb it—on that trip!

Under military escort, accordingly, we proudly entered the metropolis of Petra, our eyes dilating with emotion as we passed through the majestic thoroughfare known as the Sîḳ. Upon arriving at the western exit of this magnificent gorge, we dismounted in front of the Khazneh, and, throwing down our saddle bags on the sandy bottom of the Wâdi, resolved to make that our resting place. Being foreigners, we naturally became the objects of great curiosity to both our soldiers and the few shepherds who gathered about us. We rose early and worked late. Time was "precious in those days; there was no frequent vision"!

Starting early on a tour of exploration, the first morning after a simple and hasty breakfast, we reëxamined the Khazneh, and then began to investigate one by one the almost countless tombs between it and the Theater; going along the northeastern wall of the city, as far as to the tomb with the Latin inscription. Then we turned southward, for some reason, crossed over the dry valley-bed of Wâdi Mûsa, and bending to the left, we began to ascend the Wâdi known as al-Farasa. Not having any definite goal before us, we climbed up zig-zag over high terraces of rocks, often leaping over bowlders and rough places which might just as well have been avoided, and followed along certain ledges which overlooked deep and somewhat dangerous ravines (Mr. Forder was a good deal of a squirrel), until we finally reached the saddle of the high mountain, which has since become known as Obelisk Ridge —a height situated almost directly south of the Theater, thrusting itself boldly, so to speak, into the area of the city itself. Here we paused to rest by the "two great pyramidal columns, about one hundred feet apart, and twenty feet high," as I then wrote of them in my Journal.

It was high noon; the sun was hot, and we were both weary and faint from the morning's strenuous exertions. Yet, here were two unusual pillar-obelisks alongside of us, and yonder above us were the ruins of an old castle which once must have gloriously crowned the height, and guarded the Sîḳ. To climb a little farther, and investigate the castle, and to explore the summit of the mountain was a challenge! We hesitated. Could we still climb any higher without food or water? we asked ourselves. It seemed almost impossible. But, might not there be something well worth while on the very top of such a conspicuous mountain? Perhaps these monoliths, by which we now are standing, point as finger-boards to some sacred shrine farther on? These were some of the cogitations which filled our minds, as we inwardly fought our two pitiless foes—faintness and fatigue. Mr. Forder insisted that we had gone far enough for one day's climb. He argued that we had been climbing all forenoon, and that he had reached the point of physical exhaustion. Something, however, within me—it must have been the ambition "to find something"—urged me forward; and so, I suggested, "Let us go on to the top!" But Forder absolutely refused. "Then let me take one of the Arab boys [two local guides accompanied us] and I'll go up alone," said I. To this Forder demurred, arguing that he would then be left without necessary protection. "Then I'll go by myself," I insisted; not realizing that there might be grave danger in doing so. To this Forder rejoined, in tones of serious menace, warning me that treacherous shepherds often lurked in these mountains, to plunder and to kill the like of me! Notwithstanding, I insisted on going, and declared that I was willing to take the risk, and was off!

On the way up, after clambering over the loose stones of the half-ruined castle, I spied a goat which had apparently strayed from the flock. This caused me to speculate as to where the goat's shepherd might possibly be; at the same time I reflected on what Forder warned me of, and, remembering that I was unarmed as usual, for a moment I was tempted to retreat; but I mustered new courage, and proceeded on my way, only I did so a little more cautiously than before, and leaned a little more heavily on the arm of the Good Shepherd! In a few minutes I found myself at the utmost top of the mountain, and presently stepped forth upon what was the smooth dome of Obelisk Ridge. As I advanced a few steps, there, straight before me, was a great rectangular court, cut down with striking precision into the mother rock; and close beside it, two altars with stairway approaches, a large pool also, for water, and various other cuttings, which gave all the evidence necessary that it must have been, at one time, an ancient sanctuary. There was no doubt about it. My ambition, I saw at a glance, was being realized! I had found a high place! The thrill was something glorious!

Eagerly I set about taking notes, making plans and diagrams, measuring and photographing the various parts, quite oblivious of all fatigue; and all too forgetful, I fear, of my half-exhausted companion whom I had left, a few hundred yards below, stretched out in the shadow of one of the pillar-obelisks! I shouted to him to come up and assist me in taking the measurements, but probably he never heard my cry. One supreme thought completely obsessed me, namely, "I have found a high place! I have found a high place!" For weeks I had been scaling and scouring in vain the mountains of Sinai, and the peaks of the Negeb, and Moab, and now, I had actually found one! The joy was real! It never dawned on me at the time that any other civilized man had already *seen* it and described it! With the utmost care I applied my compass, took photographs, used my tape measure, drew plans, and jotted down in my Journal the facts as they presented themselves to me, and recorded my first impressions. Doubtless I spent more time doing so than I realized, and far more than I should have taken under the circumstances, but I was simply wedded to my idol, and intoxicated with joy, oblivious of all human responsibilities. It was simply impossible to abstract myself. At last, Forder's patience became exhausted, and he sent up one of the Arab boys ordering me to come down. I bade the messenger to return and tell Mr. Forder what I had found, which he did; and, after some few minutes Forder appeared. When he saw what I had discovered, he, too, quite forgot his fatigue, and kindly assisted me in making some of the longer measurements.

Ten weeks later (July, 1900) Forder had occasion to return to Petra as the interpreter of Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss of Chicago, to whom he naturally reported the discovery of the sanctuary. Professor Curtiss was escorted by him to the top of the mountain; he examined the several parts of the High Place, took some photographs, and was so impressed by its characteristic features, that when he returned to Jerusalem, he immediately wrote a brief preliminary description which received prompt publication in the October issue of the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1900. The following award of priority to me formed part of the preface of this article:

> The student of ancient Semitic worship will find an abundant reason for a visit to Petra in the existence there of a high place and a remarkable altar, which, aside from a passing notice [by E. L. Wilson] has been overlooked until it was recently rediscovered by Professor G. L. Robinson, Ph. D., of Chicago. The

> report of his discovery of the place led to a careful examination of it by the writer."[4]

Dalman, in his monumental work, is most generous in acknowledgment of his indebtedness.[5] In due course my own descriptions of the Great High Place appeared, naturally, in other magazines and journals.[6] In the interest of keeping the record straight Dr. Curtiss thereupon explained in his volume entitled *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*,[7] that:

> The observation of the High Place and Altar at Petra by Professor George L. Robinson, in the spring of 1900, has all the value of a new discovery. . . . The writer keenly regrets, that through misinformation as to the thoroughness of Dr. Robinson's researches, he should have anticipated him in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement* in the announcement and description of a find which is one of the most important made for the history of Semitic worship during the nineteenth century.

II. THE GREAT HIGH PLACE DESCRIBED AND INTERPRETED

1. Situation. The location of this Great Central Sanctuary is on the extreme summit of a high ridge, about three thousand four hundred feet above sea-level. The ridge runs almost due north and south, thrusting itself like a great promontory into the city from the south, and stand-

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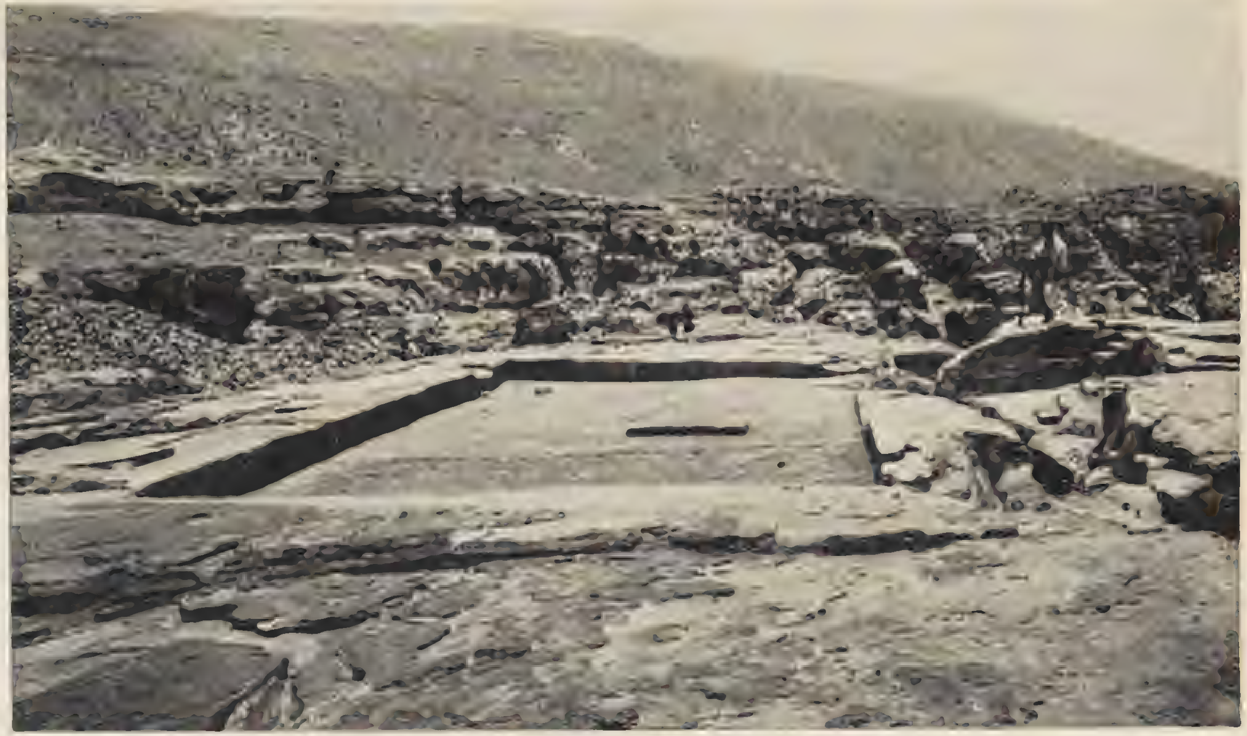
[4] The editors of the *Quarterly Statement* had promised before I left London for Chicago, that my own account of the discovery should appear in the following *January* number of their magazine along with his.

[5] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908, p. iii.

[6] For example, *The Biblical World*, Jan., 1901, pp. 6-26; also, in the same journal, Jan., 1908, pp. 8ff.; the same translated into German, in the *Mittheilungen und Nachrichtungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1901, pp. 21-32; as also in *The American Antiquarian*, 1901, pp. 229-241; *The Christian Herald*, etc.

[7] Page 236.



(See Chapter X) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Court and altars of Great High Place, looking south ing at an altitude of over six hundred feet above the city. More exactly it is almost directly south of the Theater and west of the Khazneh. The whole summit of the mountain on which the High Place is located, does not exceed five hundred feet in length by one hundred feet in breadth. It is a plane surface for the most part, except for a slight natural dip from north to south. The view obtained from it is superb, commanding not only all of the city site, or valley bottom of Wâdi Mûsa, but embracing also a wide panorama of mountain scenery including Jabal Nabi Harûn.

2. *Approaches.* So steep are the sides of the whole ridge that without artificial cuttings in the rocks ascent would be well-nigh impossible. The precipices which bound the mountain on the sides toward the city are so high and the terraces are so narrow that every natural approach required to be supplemented originally with rock-cut stairways. These can easily be traced, and lead up in various directions. As they reach the top they nearly all converge on what is now a comparatively flat platform which the Arabs are wont to call Zubb ʻArtûf, where there are two pillar-obelisks, hence, the modern name "Obelisk Ridge."

Several approaches are still possible for good climbers, despite the fact that the rock steps and other foothold devices of the ancients have been worn away by time and atmospheric agencies. Kennedy makes bold to assert, that "the top of the Obelisk Ridge can be reached from most directions with a little scrambling, sometimes difficult." [8] Musil mentions eight different approaches, four of which he describes as passable for pack animals.[9] Dalman, however, questions the possibility of any of these being practicable for loaded beasts of burden, and contents himself with describing four approaches which he calls the East, South, West, and North, respectively.[10]

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[8] One wonders how many approaches he actually made (cf. his *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 75).

[9] Cf. Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* 1905, ii, p. 330.

The three most popular routes to-day, and probably the three most commonly used in ancient times, are: (1) by Wâdi al-Farasa on the west side of the ridge. It follows up the Wâdi a long distance, and then turns to the left, climbing up narrow and somewhat perilous ledges, past numerous altars and tombs, and after passing the "lion monument" comes out upon the saddle of the ridge near the pillar-obelisks. From this point on, the way, though steep, is clear, and comparatively easy to the sanctuary. (2) A second route diverges from Wâdi Mûsa at a point not far east of the Theater, and leads up through a narrow and tortuous gully, filled with huge bowlders, called *Wâdi Mahâfir.* This way is made possible at several points by rock-cut steps. It is the steepest, but also the quickest route of all. (3) Midway between these two routes is the most popular route of all; it was perhaps the main approach. It starts close by the Theater on the west, and by means of a succession of steps cut in the nose, so to speak, of the great rock-promontory, climbs almost straight to the High Place on the summit, keeping upon the crest of the ridge much of the way, and coming out at the northwest corner of the Court. Dalman calls this "the North way" and considers it the chief approach.[11] At one point he counted fourteen, and at another one hundred and twenty-four steps, which had been cut in the rock, from one terrace to another. Dalman's view that this was probably the main approach, is in perfect harmony with the opinion which I ventured to hazard when the High Place was first discovered. I then wrote:

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[10] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, pp. 175-180.

[11] *The American Antiquarian,* 1901, p. 236.

> The main approach is from the northwest. Here, as indicated in the accompanying plan, are eight regularly cut steps in the rock leading down from the northwest corner of the Court. Traces of other stairs also are to be seen at different points on the south and west faces of the mountain, some of which I photographed, but the rock of Petra being soft, they are worn away in many cases, perhaps by atmospheric agencies; more probably by the feet of the worshipers.[12]

In climbing up repeatedly to the High Place, I have usually ascended by one route and returned by another; often picturing in imagination to myself the processions of worshipers, who, two thousand years ago, were accustomed to climb up to this lofty sanctuary to sacrifice. It is easy to picture such a scene!

3. The Two Pillars. The first objects of commanding importance which attract the visitor's eye, as to-day he arrives, near the top of the mountain, are two monoliths, or maẓẓeboth, about one hundred feet apart and a little over twenty feet in height. They stand on a comparatively smooth saddle of the mountain crest. The rock has apparently been quarried away about them, for the sake of building material, probably when the Castle was constructed, leaving these two pyramidal pillars standing, due east and west of each other; they resemble immense *menhirs.*[13] They are rough hewn and undetached from the mother rock, from which they were evidently cut. The rock platform itself is bounded on the south by an escarpment some twenty feet high, and on the north by a deep ravine. This ravine separates the pillars from the fortress and the High Place which are about one hundred feet higher up. There is no trace on them of any inscription; but the pillars were probably of Nabatean origin, having been cut long after men thought it possible to carve stones in which deities were supposed to reside, without offending them. Why there are only two is a mystery, unless it was because they were dedicated to the two principal deities of the Nabateans, Dusares and Allat. In any case, the pillars were probably used as maẓẓeboth by the Nabateans. They remind one of the two pillars at the entrance to Solomon's Temple, namely, *Jachin,* "Firmness," and *Boaz,* "Strength" (1 Kings 7:21); and, also, of Jacob's at Bethel (Gen. 28:18ff.), all three of which may have been regarded as representations of deity (Hos. 3:4).

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[12] He also says, "*Dieser Nordweg zum Heiligtum ist als ein Hauptzugang zu bezeichnen, erstlich, weil er dasselbe mit der Stadt Petra verbindet, und zweitens, weil er wirklich zunächst dem Heiligtum gilt, und nicht der Zitadelle*" (*Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 178).

[13] Curtiss gives their exact basal measurements as follows: the pillar on the west, as 10 ft. 8 in., by 7 ft. 3 in.; that on the east, as 5 ft. by 6 ft. 4 in. (*Quarterly Statement,* 1900, p. 355).

Brünnow states that he found three places of sacrifice near the obelisks. These, however, are not conspicuous, if they actually exist; "but it is hardly possible," as Kennedy observes, "to think that the sculptors who deliberately, and with so much trouble, left two obelisks standing as they are, by cutting away large masses of surrounding rock, did so without some definite cultural object. Whether the cult of the obelisks had any connection with that of the place of sacrifice beyond them it is impossible to say. The later fortifications which now separate them probably only came into existence centuries after both were in their present position—and the same applies to the cutting of the great cross gully. This operation itself may well have destroyed "holy places" originally connected with the obelisks, if there were any. In every part of Petra—both at places of cult and elsewhere—graffiti of obelisks are as common as the scratched rectangles or blocks in relief. But nowhere else, with the sole exception of the "obelisk" tomb in the Bâb as-Sîḳ, do there occur massive obelisks like these.[14]

4. The Fortress. A castle covers the south brow of the Râs, or mountain top proper. It is built of hewn stones; doubtless cut from the mother rock about the pillars below. There is no other quarry so convenient. The fortress is now in ruins, being probably of early Roman or Nabatean origin. The pottery, and the stones themselves are evidence of its early date; it cannot possibly be Crusaders' work. There is no known evidence anyway that the Crusaders ever built a fort at Wâdi Mûsa, though they may have garrisoned and enlarged those already in use, as for example, the old fort at Wu'aira.[15] Standing on the brink of a precipice, it could easily be defended, and being more lofty in elevation than most of the surrounding peaks of Mt. Seir, it would naturally serve as a watch tower for the city. It was this castle which impelled the present writer in 1900 to press on all the way to the summit of the mountain and so to the Great High Place!

5. The Court. Upon reaching the extreme top of the ridge, that portion of the Sanctuary which first attracts special attention is the Court; it occupies the center of the crest. It is a great rectangular parallelogram sunken into the rock, lying almost exactly according to the compass north and south, east and west. The floor of the depression is almost level, but slopes slightly toward the south. Its length from north to south is approximately forty-seven feet, and its breadth twenty-one feet. All along its northern end and eastern side it has been cut down with remarkable precision from sixteen to nineteen inches deep. Immediately in front of the Altar it is only five inches deep. On the remainder of the west side, it seldom exceeds ten

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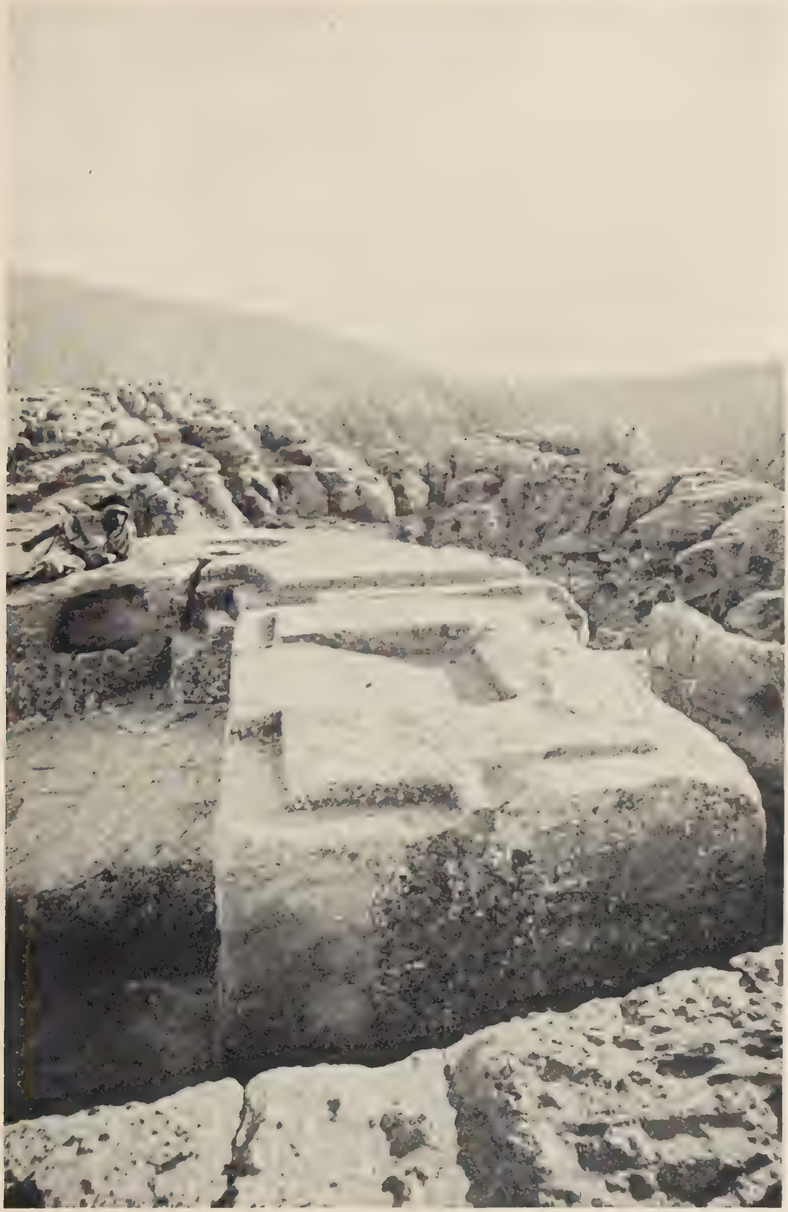
[14] *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, 1925, pp. 68, 69.

[15] Cf. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, 1908, p. 174.



(*See Chapter X*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Two altars of Great High Place, looking south inches in depth. Six feet from the southeast corner there is a drain, nine inches wide, running eighteen and one-half feet east, evidently to conduct any rain water that might collect in the Court, over the eastern side of the ledge. About three feet south from the northwest corner of the Court there is a break in the wall of the Court and a slight depression, which was probably worn by the feet of the worshipers as they approached the sanctuary. The depression is at the top of a stairway consisting of nine steps, which, in the plan, is intentionally labeled the "Main Approach." On the eastern edge of the Court runs a shallow cutting eighteen inches wide, which like a rim furnishes a bench on which the worshipers sat. This and the other shallow cuttings on the north end would indicate that the Court was intended as a triclinium. Various explanations have been suggested as to their significance, but from the great number of triclinia which are to be found among Petræan monuments it is clear that feasting must have constituted a large part of their religious ritual.[16] Dalman likewise interprets them as cuttings intended for those who followed their sacrifices with a feast.[17] My first impression was that they were "intended possibly as a place for worshipers as they waited to offer sacrifice." [18] Savignac suggests that they may have been reserved for the more honorable and aristocratic worshipers, who waited while their sacrifices were being offered.[19] In any case, the mathematical exactness with which this immense area was sunken into the living rock and these obviously artificial levelings on the higher surfaces round about, demonstrate that it must have served a very important purpose in a religious sanctuary. That it was "too small to accommodate a large crowd" is pointless, as but comparatively few worshipers would ever climb to such a height or assemble at any one particular hour. Only men in any case would make pilgrimages to the sanctuary. Besides, where else can such a large court be found?

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[16] Cf. Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925, p. 34.

[17] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 162.

[18] *Biblical World,* 1901, p. 11.

[19] *Revue Biblique,* 1903, p. 282.

6. Raised Platform. One of the most important features of this Great Court remains still to be described and interpreted; it is the undetached slab of rock which we have spoken of as the "Raised Platform." Dalman honors it with the more classical name *mensa sacra,* which is suggestive. It is a flat piece of rock, belonging to the floor of the Court, 5 feet, 1 inch long, by 2 feet, 8 inches broad, and 4½ inches high, situated on the western side, five feet from the edge of the Court and directly in front of the Rectangular Altar. It is but twenty-one feet from the north end of the Court, while from the south end it is twenty-three and one-half feet. For what purpose it was intended is an enigma. Savignac suggests that the worshiper may have stood here while the priest offered prayers at the altar. Curtiss thinks that "the little platform was the place occupied by the one bringing the victim."[20] My own explanations originally were, that it was probably intended for priestly purposes, as a table from which to eat (cf. 1 Sam. 9:13); or, as a pedestal for an idol; or, as an altar upon which victims were slain, the last being the most probable.[21] Guthe, my old friend and former preceptor, in Leipzig, favors the first of these suggestions. But Dalman objects to this interpretation on the ground that a table used as a place from which to eat, in order to be in keeping with Oriental custom, would not be square but round; besides, the sacrificial guests would not sit on the floor of the

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[20] *Quarterly Statement,* 1900, p. 354.

[21] *American Antiquarian,* 1901, p. 235.

Court but on the rim as already described.[22] He therefore prefers to explain the platform as a *mensa sacra,* or table of shewbread, corresponding to that in the tabernacle of the Hebrews. He says:

> *Ich sehe deshalb darin die sonst in Heiligtümern gewöhnliche Mensa sacra zur Niederlegung unblutiger Gaben vor der Gottheit. Die Platte war somit eine Parallele zum Schaubrottisch der Stiftshütte, und des Temples zu Jerusalem, der nach 2. Mos. 25:23 ebenfalls die Gestalt eines doppelten Quadrates hatte. Der Darbringer hatte sie zur Rechten, wenn er sich vor dem 'Gottesthron' niederwarf, wie auch der Tisch der Stiftshütte nach 2. Mos. 40:22 rechts stand.*

Dalman's interpretation is certainly a palpable solution of the riddle. It is akin to our first suggestion.

7. The Rectangular Altar. This is the most important part of the entire High Place: it is the Adytum, or Holy of Holies, of the sanctuary. It is situated on the west side of the large sunken Court, fifteen feet distant, is carved out of the mother rock, and faces the rising sun. It is approximately nine feet long from north to south—and six feet broad from east to west, and stands almost exactly on the points of the compass. Its surface varies, but its average height above the surrounding rock is about three feet. A passageway, some thirty-two inches in width, has been cut around it on three sides, north, west, and south, which allowed the officiating priests and their acolytes room to encircle the altar at will. The space directly in front of the altar, between it and the court, has been hewn down almost level with the bottom of the altar, and not much higher than the floor of the court itself; thus again the cuttings were accommodated to the conveniences of the officials. Four steps of varying heights lead up to the altar on its side toward the court, of which the uppermost is in size about 3 feet, 3 inches long by 2 feet broad, and 18 inches lower than the top of the altar itself, thus furnishing a convenient place for the officiating priest to stand directly before the altar!

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[22] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, pp. 163, 164.

The most significant features of the entire altar block, however, are the cuttings upon its upper surface. These give peculiar character to the whole altar block. As shown in the accompanying plan and in the photographs, three of the four corners of the altar are cut down with studied precision about three inches deep, forming angular depressions. There are no cuttings, however, on the southwest corner of the altar block, which corner, accordingly, is the highest of the four. This being exceptional naturally causes speculation, creating something of an enigma. As a compensation, or possibly for some other more tangible reason, the west arm of the depression, cut on the northwest corner, is considerably longer than any of the others. What all these were intended for is the question. Here the priests may have laid their knives, or set their vessels in the ritual of blood; or, perhaps, as we suggested long ago, metal "horns," or other artificial contrivances, may have ornamented the altar, and since been removed and lost (cf. Amos 3:14).

Besides, there is a deep-cut depression in the top of the altar block, measuring forty-three inches from north to south, fourteen inches from east to west, and four inches deep, which lies practically in the center of the altar's superficial area, being only a trifle nearer to the west side than to the east. This, also, is an enigma. This depression might naturally be supposed to be the place for fire; and, therefore, the whole altar block would be an altar of burnt-offering, which certainly is quite possible. But Dalman has suggested a better interpretation. He thinks that the whole altar block was the pedestal or base of a Nabatean idol; that the uneven surface of its superficial area was due to the fact that these cuttings were accommodated to fit an artificial framework of some kind, which was set on the top and which covered the entire block; that the depression in the center of the altar block was not intended for fire at all, but was used as the base or pedestal of a massive idol-pillar of the god Dusares; that the smooth surface which has been hewn down around and in front of the altar block was the place of slaughter; and that the blood of the sacrifices was taken and sprinkled on the altar block and idol image; the whole block being interpreted by him as *Gottesthron,* i.e., the throne of Dusares, the great Nabatean deity. And Dalman congratulates himself that in this interpretation he finds that M. Dussaud is in agreement with him.[23] This interpretation commends itself to the writer as the best that has ever yet been suggested; because it not only explains better the superficial cuttings, but it has in it one special advantage, namely, that it strengthens the hypothesis that the Great High Place was a Nabatean sanctuary.

8. The Round Altar. Immediately south of the Rectangular Altar just described, and separated from it by a space only thirty-two inches wide, more or less, is a large platform of natural rock more than twelve feet each way in size, and of approximately the same height as the Rectangular Altar, which originally belonged to the same general rock mass. For years we have been accustomed to think of this part of the Great High Place as the "Altar of Libation," where after the victims were slaughtered their blood was poured out (Exod. 29:12). Some have regarded it as the actual spot of sacrifice where the victims,

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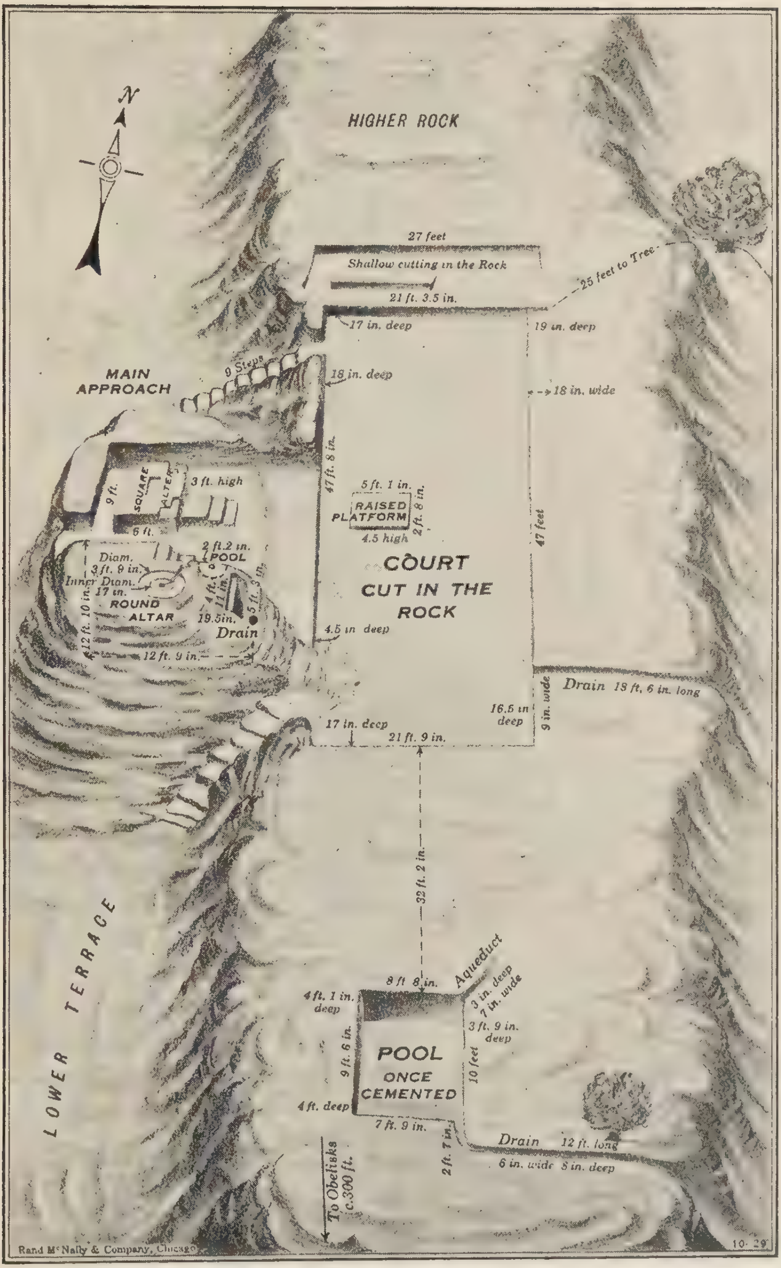
[23] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, pp. 166-168; cf. Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne,* 1905, p. 178.


N
HIGHER ROCK
27 feet
Shallow cutting in the Rock
21 ft. 3.5 in.
25 feet to Tree
17 in. deep
19 in. deep
MAIN APPROACH
9 Steps
18 in. deep
18 in. wide
47 ft. 8 in.
9 ft.
SQUARE ALTER
3 ft. high
6 ft.
5 ft. 1 in.
RAISED PLATFORM
2 ft. 8 in.
4.5 high
47 feet
2 ft. 2 in.
POOL
Diam. 3 ft. 9 in.
Inner Diam. 17 in.
ROUND ALTAR
12 ft. 10 in.
4 ft. 11 in.
5 ft. 3 in.
19.5 in.
Drain
12 ft. 9 in.
COURT CUT IN THE ROCK
4.5 in deep
Drain 18 ft. 6 in. long
16.5 in deep
9 in. wide
17 in. deep
21 ft. 9 in.
32 ft. 2 in.
LOWER TERRACE
8 ft 8 in.
Aqueduct
3 in. deep
7 in. wide
4 ft. 1 in. deep
3 ft. 9 in. deep
9 ft. 6 in.
10 feet
POOL ONCE CEMENTED
4 ft. deep
7 ft. 9 in.
2 ft. 7 in.
Drain 12 ft. long
6 in. wide 8 in. deep
To Obelisks c.300 ft.
Rand McNally & Company, Chicago
10-29

(*See Chapter X*)

Plan of the Great High Place

offered, were slain. Curtiss interpreted it as "a platform which seems to have been used for the preparation of sacrifices."[24] This altar, also, like the other, has four steps leading up to it from the level space just between the altars and the court; with these two differences, however, that the stairway is on the north side of this Circular Altar instead of on the east, and that the long broad step in this case is the first from the bottom rather than the last toward the top. These differences are not easily explained. But, this altar varies in height like the other; and its edges shade off indefinitely on the west and south sides into the natural rock about. Altogether its superficial area is considerably larger than that of the Rectangular Altar.

Two very remarkable features characterize it: one being, that in the top of the altar platform there are two concentric depressions, or sun disks, one within the other, the smaller being the deeper of the two; while from the center of the inner one there is a conduit, or drain, drilled through the rock and evidently intended to carry away the blood, presumably poured out upon the circles. This conduit leads in a northeasterly direction to the edge of the platform, indeed, to the steps of approach; evidently discharging the running blood-stream over the stairway itself. Some have assumed, unjustifiably, that the drain led into the cavity (soon to be described) near by the stairway. But it is a mistake to think that the blood was ever conducted into the cavity by the steps, for, in the first place, the drain does not lead into it, and probably never did; second, the cavity has a cup-like depression in its floor like other water pools at Petra; and third, the blood of sacrifices would probably not be collected in any case. The blood-drain of the great altar at Baalbek, which is over one hundred feet long, did not lead to a "tank"!

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[24] *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 353.

The concentric rings on the surface of this altar still detain us. Though not perfectly geometrical as circles, they were evidently carved with comparative exactness and precision, and give evidence still of good workmanship in spite of the atmospheric influence and natural disintegration of two thousand years or more. The outer circle measures forty-five inches in diameter, and the inner one seventeen inches, the latter being six and the former three inches in depth. These rings suggest to many minds that the Nabateans were sun-worshipers, which they were. The circle is a common sign of sun-worship, and was used as a symbol of that cult throughout the ancient world. It appeared even in Britain and in South America, and was generally common among all pagan nations, especially in the East.

The other noteworthy feature of this altar is the large cavity in the eastern face of its boundary rock, as it slopes toward the Court. This cavity, or "tank," is oblong and of irregular dimensions, being 5 feet, 2 inches long, 1 foot, 7½ inches wide, and 1 foot, 4 inches deep, on its east side. A narrow shelf-like ledge runs along the west wall of the cavity, as though intended at one time to support a cover, though this is very improbable. Close to the bottom of the cavity, at its south end, there is a circular hole pierced through the boundary wall, which was probably designed to drain off the contents of the cavity. On the north side of this same altar block, near the step of the altar, is the smaller cavity, of which we above spoke, with an apse-shaped roof. Both cavities were probably used as water basins at the time of sacrifice.

9. The Pool. Thirty-two feet directly south of the Court is a pool or laver, 10 feet long from north to south, 7 feet, 9 inches broad from east to west, and 4 feet deep. It is supplied with a shallow in-take, or cutting, at its north-east corner, 7 inches wide and 3 inches deep; and also with a drain, or channel, which issues from the southeast corner, running first south 2 feet, 7 inches and then east 12 feet and more; the drain being 6 inches wide and 8 inches deep. The purpose of this pool is perfectly clear; it provided the water supply for the sanctuary; from it vessels were doubtless filled for both the necessary ablutions of the priests and the washing of the sacrifices. The Pool was at one time probably cemented.

10. *Two trees* of stunted growth, and yet one of them so large in girth as to measure two feet, ten inches, are to be found to-day growing within a few feet of the sanctuary. (See diagram, p. 129.) Others may be found upon the terraces to the north and east.

Standing in the passageway between the Round Altar and the Rectangular, one can discern the urn on the top of the Dair; from any part of the High Place one can see distinctly the sacred mountain of the Arabs, Jabal Nabi Harûn. Perhaps, as in various parts of Syria and Mt. Lebanon to-day, so here it was enough to sacrifice within sight of the chief mountain sanctuary, instead of making a pilgrimage to the mountain itself.

From all these considerations, therefore, it seems perfectly clear, that in this lofty sanctuary we have a most valuable monument of the religious practices of antiquity. No other High Place has as yet ever been discovered which compares with it, either in size, completeness, or situation. The altars and monoliths and courts of other sanctuaries are really not worthy to be compared with the complete equipment of this one at Petra. And, best of all, our original evaluations of it, when first discovered, have all been buttressed by time and reaffirmed, in almost every particular, by the specialists who have since visited and interpreted the place. Thirty years ago we made bold to hazard the conclusion: "If we mistake not, we have found nothing less than the principal High Place, or sanctuary of the sons of Esau, which henceforth will throw valuable light upon the religion of the Edomites and illumine the whole question of worship in High Places, so frequently alluded to in the Old Testament."[25] Canon Driver speaks of it as "the royal sanctuary of Edom";[26] Libbey and Hoskins as "the Cathedral of ancient worship," and as "the most ancient High Place of Edom."[27] All this it most surely is, and even more.

To what particular date it belongs is uncertain; but its *creation* was probably long subsequent to its *conception*. It may not have been actually carved much before the time of our Lord, but it is hardly doubtful that when it was carved it was the outward expression of the religious practices of the Nabateans who flourished in these parts between 500 B.C. and 200 A.D.; and, at the same time, an echo of the more ancient cultus of the Edomites, the sons of Esau. For though it may not have been actually cut in remote antiquity, yet as the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon were the external expression of a religion much older than their builders, so the Great High Place at Petra probably expressed the religious rites and customs of peoples who had lived, and in a simpler fashion had practiced a similar ritual in remote antiquity. As we have already observed, in another place, little is said in the Old Testament about the religion of the Edomites. The one fact which we do know is that they offered bloody sacrifices and worshiped more than one god (1 Kings 11:1, 2; 2 Chron.

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[25] *The Biblical World,* 1901, p. 9.

[26] Art., "Sanctuary," *Hastings Dict. of the Bible,* IV, 1902, p. 396.

[27] *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* 1905, ii., pp. 160, 172, 180.

25:14, 15, 20), and this is tacitly confirmed by the implications embodied in the "two pillars" and the "two altars," which may hint of the worship of the goddess Allat and of her son Dusares, the two best-known deities of the Nabateans. The invading Arabs, in other words, only modified the religion which they already found in Edom.

XI

OTHER SANCTUARIES OF PETRA

SINCE the author's discovery of the Great High Place, at Petra on May 3, 1900,[1] various other sanctuaries have been found by subsequent visitors to this wonderfully fascinating rock capital. Thus, on March 4, 1902, Libbey and Hoskins found the second, or so-called "Citadel" High Place,[2] which also was doubtless associated with Nabatean cult and religion; and in May, 1904, Forder discovered a third, or what is known as the "Triple" High Place, consisting of three separate sections. This last one is said to have been independently discovered again by Hoskins and Myers in November, 1905.[3] Through the publication, by Brünnow and Domaszewski, of the first volume of their monumental work, *Die Provincia Arabia,* in 1904, several other altars and sanctuaries were announced; while still more recently Musil, Savignac and Dalman have independently reported many more. In recent years, numerous missionaries and archæologists have gone to Petra in search of sanctuaries, and their labors have not been unrewarded. For example, in July, 1906, a party of twenty-two professors of the American University in Beirût and missionaries from Mount Lebanon, traveling by the then new Hejâz Railroad from Damascus as far as Ma'ân, spent several days in exploring the mountain recesses about the site of the city and brought back news of the discovery of three or four hitherto unseen sanctuaries.[4] Other ambitious tourists have from time to time followed their example; so that, altogether, so far as we are able to learn, not fewer than twenty-five places of worship, shrines, mortuary chapels, and possible High Places, large and small, are known to exist on the rock terraces and heights about the city. In addition to those already known, we were able in 1907 to add three others as the result of our second visit in May of that year. And on July 30, 1907, Professor Porter discovered the so-called "Numair" High Place, on the southern side of the city. In a letter to the writer, he then described it as possessing a high platform, a pool, a cistern, and a possible altar; the approach to it from the city consisting of more than three hundred rock-hewn steps. Personally, I have myself examined, measured, photographed and annotated not fewer than twenty of the sanctuaries known to exist, and in what follows have chosen the ten most important to describe and compare, believing that these ten will furnish all the necessary data from which to make certain important deductions concerning the religious customs and practices of the ancient peoples who once inhabited the land of Edom.

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[1] *The Biblical World,* 1901, pp. 6-16.

[2] *The Biblical World,* 1903, pp. 167-174.

[3] *The Biblical World,* 1906, pp. 384-390.

First, however, it should in general be observed, that an ancient Edomite sanctuary was usually situated on some conspicuous hilltop, or elevated terrace, where fell the rays of the early morning sun; that numerous rock-hewn stairways led up to it; and that from it a still more sacred shrine such as the Dair, or "Aaron's Tomb" on Jabal Nabi Harûn was visible; and further, that a complete High Place ordinarily consisted of a court, or courts, which were sunken in the mother rock, usually on the points of the compass, and were supplied with a drain, and seats for the worshipers; likewise, an altar, or altars, with steps leading up to them from

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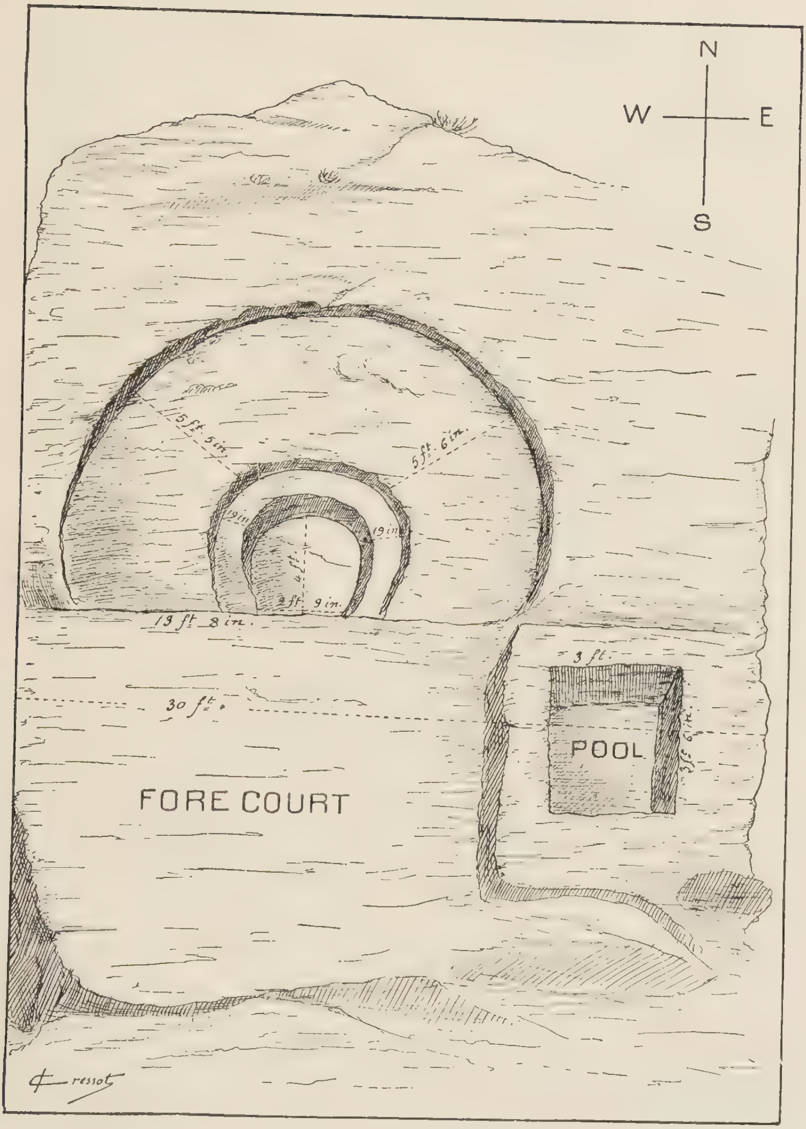
[4] Fox, Irwin, Joy, and Scott were especially designated by the party to search for new High Places.


N
W
E
S
5 ft. 5 in.
5 ft. 6 in.
19 in.
19 in.
4 ft.
2 ft
9 in.
13 ft 8 in.
3 ft.
30 ft.
POOL
3 ft 6 in.
FORE COURT
Cressot

(See Chapter VI)

Cooking circles used in sacrificing

the east, the altar facing usually the rising sun, and having a rock-cut passageway about it; also, a pool, or pools, of varying dimensions, with inlets and outlets, or aqueducts; that not infrequently trees are still found growing in the near vicinity; and that tombs or tomb chambers, circles and semi-circles, niches, and other rock cuttings are in several cases accompanying features; but that in no case have sanctuaries been found bearing inscriptions. Other features and accessories of lesser importance will appear in particular instances, as we proceed to describe them one by one; while their exact locations will be manifest to the reader, by a glance at the "Plan of Petra." (See p. 25.)

The ten sanctuaries chosen for review are the following:

I. THE GREAT HIGH PLACE

This wonderful sanctuary we have described in the preceding chapter. For location, completeness, and importance, it still holds first rank among all the High Places as yet discovered either in Petra or Palestine. Being situated high up above the city bottom, broad stairways were cut in the sandstone rocks leading up through various ravines. Niches for statues, or votive offerings, adorn the boundary rock walls along the different wâdies. On the west side of the ridge on which the High Place is situated, a small altar stands out conspicuously above the terrace. Near-by a lion, carved on a smooth rock surface, is also visible. Two maẓẓeboth or pillars, over twenty feet in height, which were probably representations of deity (Hos. 3:4), crown the shoulder, or saddle of the ridge, and tacitly announce that the High Place is not far above. Between the pillars and the High Place stand the ruins of an ancient watchtower, which originally dates very probably from Nabatean or Roman times. The equipment of the sanctuary does not need to be redescribed. From any portion of the High Place, Jabal Nabi Harûn is distinctly visible. Whatever its origin, there is little doubt but that it was once the great central sanctuary of the city! It may, indeed, mark the very spot where religious rites were celebrated by the sons of Esau more than thirty-five hundred years ago!

(See Chapter VI)

Typical rock stairway leading to a place of sacrifice

II. THE CITADEL HIGH PLACE

This sanctuary was discovered by Libbey and Hoskins on March 4, 1902.[5] It is situated on a low terrace behind the Citadel Rock, known as al-Ḥabîs, in the western portion of the city; its altitude above sea level being approximately twenty-nine hundred feet. It was easily approached by a comparatively low terrace from two directions, and also from the valley below. In some of its principal features it resembles the Great High Place just described. It possesses three rock-hewn courts, cut on the points of the compass (one being now filled with earth), and is supplied with drains, and seats for the worshipers, hence intended probably as a triclinium, or place for feasting. The altar, however, is very uneven and irregular, and has no well-defined passage about it. The small pool at the southeast corner of the grass court has a cup-like depression in its floor, as so many others have in Petra.

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[5] For their description of it, see *The Biblical World,* 1903; pp. 167-174; also their work, *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* 1905, ii, pp. 191-207.

Closely adjoining this water cavity are the outlines of what was once probably a roofed-in guest chamber, or hall, in which the sacrificial feast may have been celebrated (1 Sam. 9:22). Such chambers, or halls, were erected by the ancients for various purposes, and were called "houses of the high places" (1 Kings 12:31; 13:32; 2 Kings 23:19). They sometimes housed the image of the god worshiped (2 Kings 17:29). A niche adorns the south wall. A few paces to the east, tomb chambers are found; excavated, indeed, in the very rock-mass out of which the High Place itself is carved. The discoverers of the sanctuary, with characteristic hyperbole, somewhat exaggerate their number, saying, "The rocky walls on every side contain hundreds of tombs and rooms carved into the sandstone." [6] There are many, however, and in such close proximity as to emphasize the mortuary character of the sanctuary. The whole vicinage is a necropolis. About two hundred feet southwest, in the bottom of the Wâdi, certain semicircles twelve feet in diameter are to be seen.

The remaining features of this sanctuary are compara-

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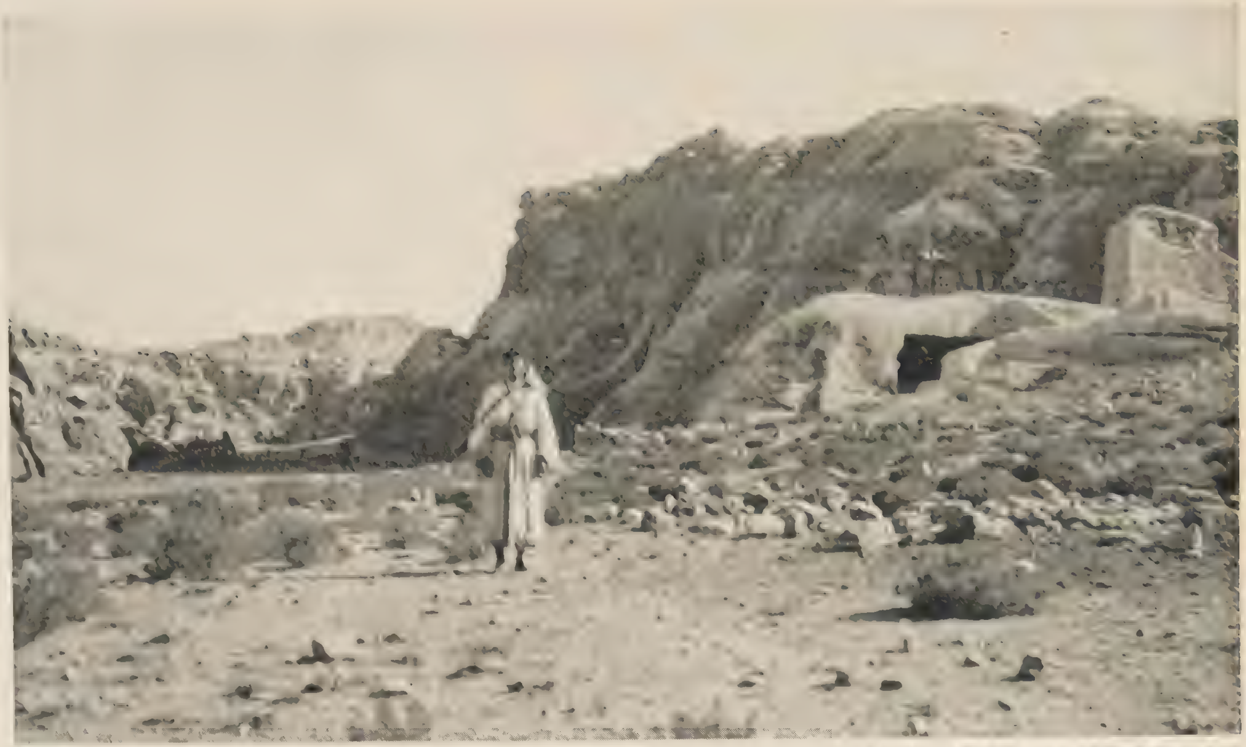
[6] *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* ii, 1905, p. 199.



(See Chapter IV)

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White sandstone cuttings at al-Bahika

tively unimportant. The large pool, whose sides are almost completely worn away, has a cup hole in its bottom which seems to indicate that it was probably once used for water, as the original discoverers conjectured. But, that the two tiny cup holes cut in the rock a few feet to the south of it are "similar to the circular cuttings of the round altar in the Great High Place," as they allege, is not so convincing.[7] A few small trees are to be found growing in the near vicinity. This sanctuary has no maẓẓeboth, or pillars, and the supposed Tomb of Aaron on Jabal Nabi Harûn is not visible from it. It was probably, therefore, only a private sanctuary; nothing more, indeed, than a mortuary chapel near which some Nabatean family was buried. There is a strong desire still among Jews and modern Arabs (for example, at Ḳaryatain, midway between Damascus and Palmyra), to be buried near a shrine. There is also an extensive cemetery just below the summit of Jabal Nabi Harûn. Such sanctuaries were repeatedly visited by mourning relatives and sympathetic friends for memorial purposes, and naturally, as is the custom still in certain parts, they all partook of food distributed by the family, as they sat around the court, or triclinium, of the sanctuary. Feasting was ever common at sanctuaries in ancient times, for the ancients did not divorce religion from common life.

III. THE TRIPLE HIGH PLACE

This large sanctuary was first discovered by Forder in May, 1904.[8] It is conspicuously situated high above the so-called Corinthian Tomb on the eastern mountain wall of the city; its altitude above sea level being approximately thirty-six hundred feet. Some consider it as composed of three separate High Places, but it is better perhaps to regard it as one continuous sanctuary made up of a series of family shrines. The worshipers may have all been closely related.

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[7] *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* ii, 1905, p. 199.

[8] But also independently by Hoskins and Myers, Nov. 16, 1905; Hoskins has described it in *The Biblical World,* May, 1906, pp. 385-390.

It is approached by stairways leading up from different ravines: two beginning near the tomb with the Latin inscription, a third near the large tomb with the urn, and a fourth leading up the ravine north of the Khazneh. The three courts are of the usual kind, with drain and seat accommodations, and cut as usual on the points of the compass. The altars are of various sorts, the northernmost one being rough and unhewn without any distinct passageway about it. To the east of this one, at a distance of one hundred and forty-two feet, stands another, broken, however, and apparently very ancient. Professor Crawford once hazarded the opinion that it might be the oldest altar in Petra! If so, then, here we have another sanctuary of the ancient Edomites! But by far the most interesting altar of this entire sanctuary is that situated at the western end of the most southern court. It faces the east, stands upright and undetached from the rock boundary of the court, and has a drain from its upper surface, which is unusual. By some it has been regarded as a maẓẓebah, or pillar, but more probably it was intended as an altar of libation. This would account for the drain on the top of it. About two hundred yards east of this Triple High Place may be found an actual pyramid or obelisk, which has been cut in the northern wall of a rock-hewn highway; on the main road to the northern suburb of the city, al-Baidha, there is still another of similar design!

The distinctively attractive feature of this High Place is the deeply cut semicircles, or roasting ovens. These open circles are too small to have been used as triclinia, or sitting places, during the sacrificial meal; but, on the other hand.

are just large enough to accommodate a caldron, such as to-day is used by the Arabs on the summit of Jabal Nabi Harûn. There are other such semicircles in Petra. The irregular "cavity" in the court of the northern section of this same High Place may have been intended for a similar purpose. The Samaritans on Mount Gerizim roast their Passover lambs in similar pits. This theory of their probable use is confirmed by the presence of possible tomb chambers seventy-five feet east of the southernmost court; and also by the presence of a once roofed-in chamber, in the southern section. These in other sanctuaries are often associated with mortuary chapels. In any case this High Place ranks among the most important in Petra, and may be quite as ancient as the Great High Place itself. Jabal Nabi Harûn is plainly visible from every section of it.

IV. THE TURKMANÎYA HIGH PLACE

This sanctuary was evidently discovered by Domaszewski, who first describes it.[9] It is situated on the western slope of the Turkmanîya Valley, high up on one of the broad terraces, not far south of the tomb with the famous Nabatean inscription. Its altitude is well-nigh thirty-two hundred feet above sea level. It has several rock-hewn courts, cut as usual on the points of the compass, and accompanied with tunnel drains and banks for seats for the worshipers. A colossal rock altar with steps leading up to its summit stands near its principal entrance.

The most striking feature of this sanctuary is its roofed-in chamber, or hall, with broad steps at its entrance, a court as its floor with seats about it on three sides, and a stairway outside leading from the main passageway in front of the chamber to its roof. Another notable characteristic is the circular cavity between the two grass courts, which seems

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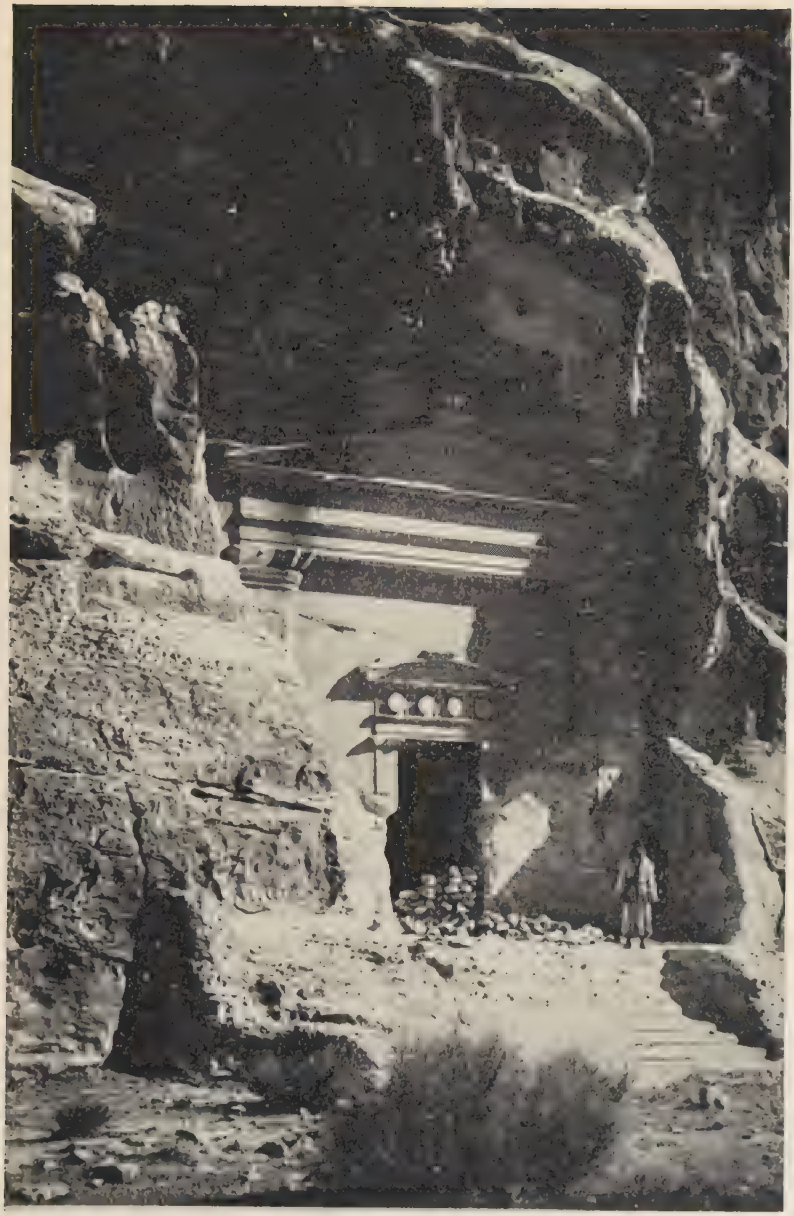
[9] See Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* i, 1904, p. 362.



(See Chapter IV) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Classical monument at entrance to the Sîḳ al-Bârid to have been intended as a fire oven, as it resembles very closely the one in actual use by the modern Samaritans of Shechem, when they sacrifice the Passover on Mt. Gerizim. It is so situated that falling rain water drains away from, rather than into, it. Tombs and tomb chambers are located in the near vicinity. Trees also grow at no great distance. There are stairways leading down from the east and south sides, also a small pool, and a niche adjacent to the grass court. Though Jabal Nabi Harûn is not visible from it, this is nevertheless one of the most interesting of all Petra's many sanctuaries.

V. THE MADRÂS HIGH PLACE

This is one of the most handsomely carved sanctuaries in Petra. It evidently corresponds to Brünnow's *Opferplatz,* numbered "51", but neither he nor Domaszewski gives any description of it whatever. It is situated well outside the city proper, considerably south of the east end of the picturesque Sîḳ. Its name signifies "threshing floor." From Wâdi Mûsa, over white rocks, a most imposing broad stairway leads up to it. Its altitude is about 3550 feet above sea level. Its deeply cut rock court is partly sheltered by overhanging rocks. The rain water naturally falling upon the neighboring rocky ridge is conducted by an aqueduct more than one hundred feet long into a double pool on different levels, closely adjacent to the court. Shallow cuttings and small water tanks abound on all sides. A beautiful grass plot lies to the southwest; beyond which there are several tomb chambers. The altar seems to be entirely missing; yet, quite possibly it and other important adjuncts of the sanctuary are to be looked for one hundred yards to the north, where more courts, niches, pools, tombs, and stairways abound in great numbers. From these, too, Jabal Nabi Harûn is visible, but not from the High Place proper. Though the altar is wanting, there is every necessary reason to believe that this was once an important *bâmah,* or High Place.

VI. THE KHUBTHA HIGH PLACE

This sanctuary receives its name from the region in which it is located. "Khubtha" signifies treachery and deceit; hence, the treacherous and deceitful region. It was the writer's good fortune to have discovered this and the two following High Places yet to be described, on his second visit to Petra in May, 1907. It is situated about five hundred yards northeast of the third, or Triple High Place, in the eastern portion of the rock plateau which bounds the city. Its altitude is approximately thirty-seven hundred feet. The large deep cistern and the correspondingly large but now mutilated guest chamber, both once roofed in, are the two outstanding features of this sanctuary. Very striking, however, are the semicircles which are carved into the upper surface of the rock dome—a huge bowlder close by the roofed-in chamber. These are so weatherworn as to be too shallow for roasting-ovens. They may have been, of course, an altar of libation, but the presence of a tomb in close proximity and of the guest chamber rather point in the direction of the former supposition. This High Place, accordingly, was very probably another mortuary chapel. Jabal Nabi Harûn is not immediately visible from it.

VII. THE DAIR HIGH PLACE

This High Place is one of the most conspicuous and at the same time one of the most secluded of the whole number. It is situated only about two hundred yards southeast of the Dair, on a very conspicuous rock promontory, and yet so constructed as not to be visible from any of the surrounding vantage points, not even from the dome of the

Dair itself. Its altitude is about thirty-seven hundred feet above sea level. The approach to it naturally baffles the timid. Its stairways, which rise from one terrace to another, are among the finest and most intricate in Petra. Several tomb chambers are passed as one ascends. Excepting the semicircles for roasting purposes, and the guest chamber, this sanctuary has all the accessories of a mortuary chapel. Jabal Nabi Harûn is visible from the topmost platform; likewise the Dair.

VIII. THE KHIRBET AN-NASARA HIGH PLACE

This High Place derives its name from the so-called "Christian Ruins," in the northern section of the city, on whose southeast corner it is located. Its altitude is about thirty-two hundred feet. The most prominent feature of this sanctuary is the large altar which stands on the edge of the upper court, having a broad, well-defined passageway all about it. The two altars at Petra which most closely resemble it are the "Square Altar" of the Great High Place on Obelisk Ridge, and a hitherto undescribed altar, very ancient, located a few paces northwest of the Dair, which, like this one, stands on an elevated platform. This one, also, was doubtless an altar of great antiquity. The steps led up to it from the northeast. It seems to have been so constructed, as to the points of the compass, that the priest when standing upon the top step of the altar's stairway, would face Jabal Nabi Harûn; yet the mountain itself is not visible, the high promontory of an-Nasara preventing.

IX. THE VALLEY HIGH PLACE

This sanctuary was discovered in July, 1905, by the four members of the teaching staff of the Syrian Protestant College (now, the American University of Beirût), Fox, Irwin, Joy, and Scott. It is situated about one hundred yards south of the Dair and about one hundred feet west of a deep chasm, which was once spanned by a bridge, traces of whose arches still remain. Its altitude is about 3375 feet. It is composed of two sections, an eastern and a western, not immediately adjoining but closely related to each other. Neither section has any trace of a clearly defined altar.

(See Chapter VII) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Left side door of the Khazneh

This is explicable, however, if what we have been tempted in several cases to call an altar was, as Dalman has suggested in connection with the Great High Place, in reality only the pedestal of an image of the great god Dusares! Not every family could afford an image! There are numerous tombs and tomb chambers in the vicinity of both sections. The two most striking features of the sanctuary are the "faucet"-like outlet to the once plastered pool of the eastern section, and the semicircles cut into the top surface of the rock dome. Very probably, therefore, we here have another mortuary chapel. From this High Place the Dair is visible; but Jabal Nabi Harûn is not.

X. THE SOUTHWEST HIGH PLACE

The name suggests its situation. Its altitude is approximately thirty-one hundred feet. It corresponds to Brünnow's *Opferaltar* "311" and *Opferplatz* "315." It stands close on the right side of the main road which leads from the city toward Jabal Nabi Harûn. The one outstanding feature of this sanctuary is the Great Rock Altar(?). While there is some doubt as to the actual use made of this immense rock bowlder, it was evidently considered of enough importance by the ancients that they cut stairways, and a niche, and a cistern in or upon it. The lower portions of the stairways are now broken or worn away, but they once led doubtless to the dome on which the altar stood. Tombs and tomb chambers exist on all sides, some being richly carved. Doubtless, here again we have a mortuary chapel. Neither Jabal Nabi Harûn nor the Dair is in view.

Now, these ten sanctuaries are, in our judgment, representative of all; no further details need to be recorded. We have surely portrayed enough to warrant the following conclusions:

(1) That of all these ten High Places, only one can, strictly speaking, be regarded as in any sense a public sanctuary, namely, the Great High Place on Obelisk Ridge. The others are merely private chapels, associated with the burial of the dead. This, indeed, is not contrary to Oriental custom and psychology; for it is still common, both among Jews and Mohammedans, to have local sanctuaries convenient of access, and beside them a large central sanctuary at which all the people, in mass, assemble once a year.

(2) That though other High Places may yet be discovered, as is indeed possible, it is highly probable that their main features have been anticipated in these sanctuaries already known and described.

(3) If it be inquired to what period these sanctuaries belong, we may be reasonably sure that they were essentially Nabatean, dating from about 200 B.C. to 100 A.D.; it is also reasonable to assume that they occupy, in many cases, very probably the sites of shrines at which the ancient Edomites themselves once worshiped.

XII

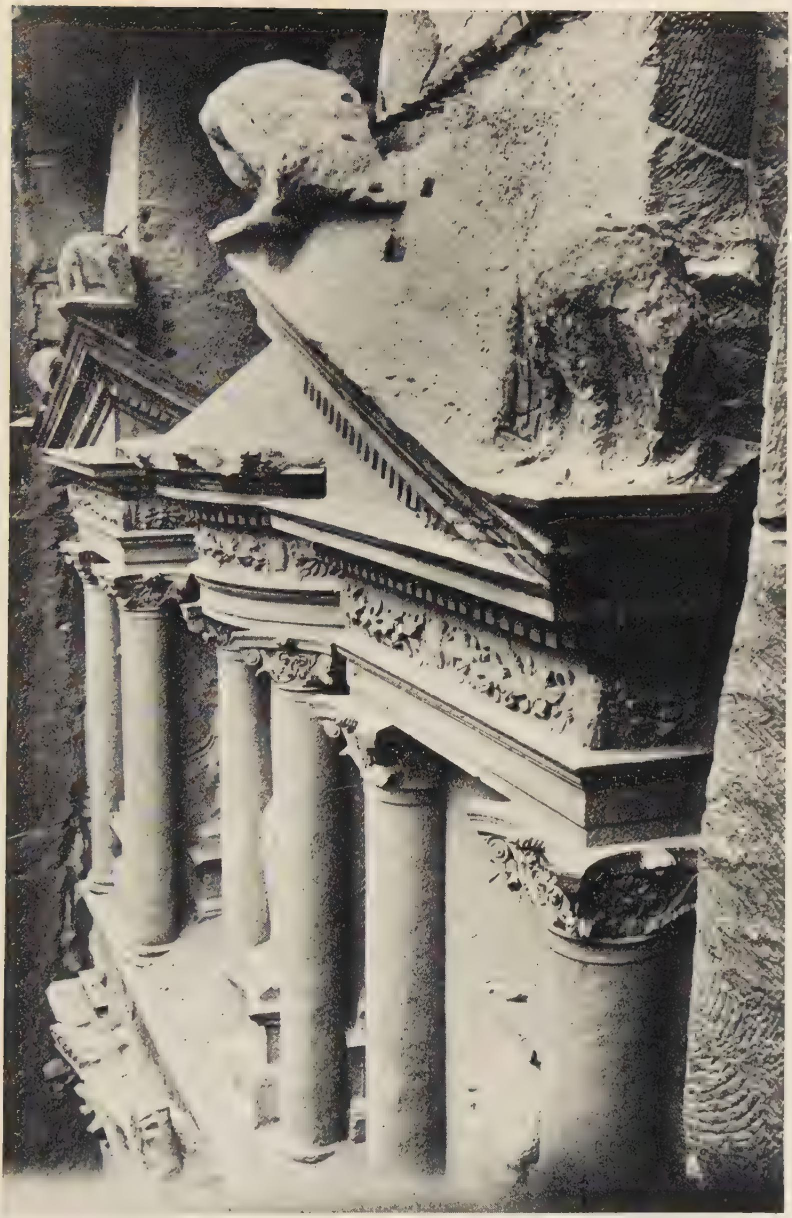
THE VAULTED CHAMBERS OF PETRA'S HIGH PLACES

Of the several sanctuaries now known to exist at Petra—the ancient capital of the Nabateans in Mt. Seir—four have what we have designated, for want of a better name, "Once Roofed-in Chambers." They are great cavities, hewn for the most part out of the mother rock, vaulted with arches, the sockets of which are still traceable in the lateral walls of the ancient structures.

For example, in connection with the Citadel High Place, there is found a Partially Roofed-in Cavity, (closely adjacent to the Grass Court, and quite near to the entrance of the sanctuary proper) ; the roof of which is, in part, still intact, being composed of natural rock.

In like manner, leading off from the Large Grass Court of the Southern Section of the Triple High Place, there is a Once Roofed-in Chamber, with niches in the rock walls for the arches which once supported the vaulted roof.

One of the principal features of the Turkmanîya High Place is a Roofed-in Chamber, cut deep into a great mass of projecting mountain rock, measuring thirty-three by twenty-two feet, having cuttings for the bases of four distinct arches which once spanned the cavity, and which probably supported broad flat stones which rested upon them and formed the roof of the Vaulted Chamber. In the center of this rock excavation, there is a deep rectangular cutting with a seat running about it on three sides, as in the



(*See Chapter VII*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Details of carvings on the Khazneh

Guest Chamber near the entrance of Petra directly north of the Khazneh. Three steps nine and a half feet broad lead up to this lower rectangular court. The leveled shelf of rock (four feet broad) between the seat which bounds this court and the boundary walls seems to have formed an important part of the structure and may have been used as a place on which to recline.

Of the Khubtha High Place, one of the most conspicuous features is the Once Partly Roofed-in Chamber which is approached by sixteen steps and a passageway twenty feet long, carved through the solid rock. This chamber measures twenty-five by twenty feet, and bears the mark of having been at one time at least partially roofed over. As in the cases of the two just described the arches rested in sockets cut into the rock walls.

These are the only high places of all those which we have studied and described which possess chambers of this character; though excavated pools, cooking-ovens, and chambers for sepulchral purposes are frequent accompaniments of these sanctuaries.

Now the question naturally arises, For what purpose were these arched chambers? Were they an important part of the sanctuaries? And did the people use them for both social and religious purposes? Certain hints toward the solution of these questions are furnished by the Old Testament.

In 1 Samuel 9:22 we read: "And Samuel took Saul and his servant and brought them into the *guest-chamber,* and made them sit in the chiefest place among them that were bidden, who were about thirty persons." Here is clearly an allusion to a hall, or guest chamber, in connection with a High Place (cf. vs. 19 and 25), which was set apart for the express use of worshipers in attendance upon the sacrificial feast, into which Samuel received Saul as his guest.

In 1 Kings 12:31 we are told that Jeroboam, king of Israel, "made *houses of high places,* and made priests from among all the people that were not of the sons of Levi"; apparently in connection with the altars set up by him at Bethel and Dan (cf. vs. 29, 32).

In 1 Kings 13:32 such sacrificial resorts are denounced by a man of God whose words are subsequently quoted by a false prophet of Bethel as certain to be fulfilled. "For the saying which he cried by the word of Jehovah against the altar in Bethel and against all *the houses of the high places* which are in the cities of Samaria shall surely come to pass."

In 2 Kings 17:29, 32 it is related how "every nation" of those whom Sargon had transported from Assyria to Samaria to fill the places of the Israelites who had been carried into captivity in 722 B.C., "made gods of their own and put them in the high places which the Samaritans had made . . . and the priests of the high places sacrificed for them in *the houses of the high places."* From this passage it is quite obvious that these "houses of the high places" were the depositaries of the images of the people's gods, and that they were used as places of sacrifice, most probably as places of sacrificial feasting.

Again in 2 Kings 23:19, Josiah, King of Judah, is said to have taken away *"all the houses also of the high places* that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke Jehovah to anger . . . and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel."

In Ezekiel's allegory of the "Foundling Child" who became the faithless wife (ch. 16), much additional light is thrown upon the religious practices at such shrines; which, according to the prophet's description, eclipsed in sensuality and lewdness the practices of Samaria and even of Sodom.

"And it came to pass after all thy wickedness . . . that thou hast built unto thee *a vaulted place,* and hast made unto thee a lofty place in every street. Thou hast built thy lofty place at the head of every way, and hast made thy beauty an abomination, and hast opened thy feet to every one that passed by and multiplied thy whoredom" (16:23-25). "How weak is thy heart, saith the Lord Jehovah, seeing thou doest all these things, the work of an impudent harlot; in that thou buildest thy *vaulted place* at the head of every way and makest thy *lofty place* in every street" (16:30, 31). "And I will judge thee as women that break wedlock and shed blood are judged; and I will bring upon thee the blood of wrath and jealousy. I will also give thee into their hand, and they shall throw down thy *vaulted place,* and break down thy lofty places" (16:38, 39).

Ezekiel's picture is of course an allegory; but the language used in his description of Jerusalem as an unfaithful wife, guilty of the most horrible whoredoms, is obviously drawn from the actual practices of his time. The Hebrew word translated "vaulted place" is *gabh,* which means anything convex or covered. It seems to convey the idea of an arched hall, or brothel house for purposes of literal prostitution in connection with the illegitimate worship of Jehovah on high places. This is, to say the least, in keeping with the prophet's repeated statements that Judah in her latter days outdid Samaria and even Sodom in wickedness (vs. 46-52). Unquestionably Judah's worship at high places was very impure, and her "lewdness" may well have been literal unchastity (vs. 43-45). It is said that she even decked her high places with rugs of divers colors and played the harlot upon them; and manufactured "male images"—a possible allusion to phallic worship (vs. 16, 17). Indeed, among the earliest forms of worship known to have been practiced by the human race is the custom of sacred prostitution in the name of religion.[1] Accordingly, we may conclude that at Petra, these Roofed-in Chambers were probably intended not only as depositaries of idols, but were actually employed as places of feasting accompanied by prostitution.

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[1] H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant,* 1896, p. 229.

XIII

ANCIENT HIGH PLACES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

THERE are many references to "High Places" in the Old Testament. The Hebrew word *bamah,* employed in connection with them, signifies "high ground" or "crest." The plural form *bamoth,* also occurs, and four times is used either as a proper name, or is compounded with some other proper name (Num. 21:19, 20, 28; Josh. 13:17). It is also used as the name of a Moabite sanctuary for Chemosh, on the Moabite Stone (lines three and twenty-seven). The origin of the name is unknown, but it may have been, indeed probably was, borrowed from the Canaanites. Ezekiel's derivation of *bamah* as from *ba,* "go," and *mah,* "what," is of course a mere pun, by means of which the prophet expresses his contempt for high-place practices (Ezek. 20:29).

In the Old Testament "High Places" are generally associated with elevations. People approaching them are said to "go up" to (1 Sam. 9:13, 19; Isa. 15:2), and departing, to "come down" from them. They were usually located near cities (1 Sam. 9:25; 10:5); were sometimes said to be in cities (1 Kings 13:1-3; 2 Kings 17:9, 29; 23:5), or "at the entrance of the gate" of the city (2 Kings 23:8), or "at the head of every way" (Ezek. 16:25, 31); but also, in valleys (Jer. 7:31; 19:5, 6; 32:35; Ezek. 6:3). Probably every city and village had at least one (2 Kings 17:9, 11; 23:8; Ezek. 6:6).

They were artificially constructed (1 Kings 11:7; 14:23) being spoken of as having been "destroyed," "broken down," and "defiled" (2 Kings 21:3; 23:8, 13). They doubtless resembled, and in many cases were identical with, the shrines of the ancient Canaanites (Deut. 12:2, 3; Num. 33:52). It is possible that they resembled, also, the tall *ziggurats* of the ancient Babylonians. All this was in keeping with early religious custom. Among primitive peoples, the crests of conspicuous mountains were often regarded as the distinct territory of Deity. Zeus, for example, of the Greeks, had many such mountain abodes. The gods of Persia, India, Java, and other lands were thought to dwell on lofty peaks. There were High Places in Moab (Isa. 15:2; 16:12), on which altars were erected, sacrifices slain (Num. 22:41; 23:1, 14, 28-30), and incense offered (Jer. 48:35). Perhaps, bare heights were chosen because from them the view of heaven was unobstructed (Jer. 3:2). By the Hebrews, Zion was regarded as "the mountain which God hath desired for his abode" (Ps. 68:16). In 1 Kings 20:23, 28, the Syrians ascribe Israel's victory over them to the fact that Jehovah is "a god of the hills." This is in harmony with the representations in the three great poems of the Old Testament, which make Mt. Sinai Jehovah's primitive abode (Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4, 5; cf. Hab. 3:3). To Sinai-Horeb, it will be remembered, Elijah fled when threatened by Jezebel (1 Kings 19:1-8).

High Places in the Old Testament were preëminently religious centers, places of sacrifice and prayer, sanctuaries (1 Sam. 9:12-14; 1 Kings 3:2-4; Isa. 16:12; Lev. 26:30, 31; Amos 7:9). They possessed various sacred accessories, of which the principal one was the altar, or place of sacrifice (1 Kings 3:4). It might consist of either hewn or unhewn stone, or even of a mere mound of earth. The altar is sometimes distinguished from the High Place itself (2 Kings

23:15; Isa. 36:7; 2 Chron. 14:3). Before it the sacrifices were presented.

Near the altar stood the "maẓẓebah," or sacred pillar of stone (Hos. 10:1, 2). It might consist either of a rough unhewn bowlder, or a chiseled slab, which the worshiper regarded as the abode of Deity. In very ancient times these pillars were left unhewn because they were regarded as sacrosanct, the belief being that, if they were cut or carved by human hands, the *numen* would be driven out of the stone. Later, artificial obelisks took their place. To the ancient Canaanites the maẓẓebah was evidently the symbol of the Divine presence, and was worshiped as the representation of Deity (Exod. 23:24; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; Hos. 3:4). By the patriarchs such pillars were regarded as symbols of the true worship of Jehovah (Gen. 28:18-22; 31:45-51); and even in later times they were associated with worship (Exod. 24:4; Isa. 19:19); but eventually they came to be proscribed as illegitimate because of their heathen and idolatrous associations (Deut. 16:22; Mic. 5:13). Among the Arabs they were smeared with blood in order that the offering might be brought into closer contact with Deity. Jacob poured oil upon his maẓẓebah at Bethel (Gen. 28:18). In short, the worship of stone pillars was a species of idolatry; their presence being the distinguishing mark of the sanctuary.

Another important accessory of an ancient High Place was the 'asherah, or sacred pole. It was either an artificial pole of wood or the stump of a tree, planted in the earth or rock, beside the altar (Deut. 16:21), and was sometimes regarded as the symbol of the goddess Astarte, or some other deity. It was constructed of wood (Judg. 6:26; 1 Kings 14:15, 23; 16:33; 2 Kings 17:10, 16; Isa. 17:8), sometimes in image-like form (1 Kings 15:13), and could be "plucked up" (Mic. 5:14), "cut down" (Exod. 34:13),

(See Chapter VII) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

The Khazneh cliff from the north

"broken to pieces" (2 Chron. 34:4), and "burnt" (Deut. 12:3). It stood in close proximity to the maẓẓebah and to the altar (Judg. 6:25), and might be set up even under living trees (2 Kings 17:10). What its origin was it is impossible to say, but it was evidently closely akin to tree-worship, the tree probably being revered, like the maẓẓebah, as an abode of Deity (cf. Deut. 11:30), and as the symbol of fertility. A famous 'asherah stood in Samaria in the days of King Jehoahaz (2 Kings 13:6), probably the one made by Ahab (1 Kings 16:33). Manasseh also made an 'asherah, and set it up in the temple in Jerusalem (2 Kings 21:7); it was destroyed by Josiah (2 Kings 23:6, 7).

Not infrequently, also, connected with High Places, there were rooms, chambers, or sacred halls, called "houses of high places" (1 Kings 12:31; 13:32; 2 Kings 23:19). These were probably used as dwellings for the priests, and as halls where the sacrificial meals were eaten (1 Sam. 9:22); quite possibly also as the places of the most immoral practices—even religious prostitution. Amos, for example, gives a stern picture of an utterly rotten social state of moral filth (Amos 2:8). And Ezekiel boldly paints Jerusalem as a harlot who has builded herself "a vaulted place" at the head of every way, and lofty places in every street (Ezek. 16:23-39). These chambers also sheltered the images of the gods worshiped (2 Kings 17:29; Judg. 17:5). Tents, however, might be used for the same purpose (2 Kings 23:7; Ezek. 16:16; cf. Hos. 9:6). David pitched a tent to shelter the ark (2 Sam. 6:17; 7:6).[1] The Carthaginians are said to have used tents as portable sanctuaries.[2]

There were acolytes, or attendants, also at the high places; sometimes called *kohanim,* which is the ordinary word in Hebrew for "priests" (1 Kings 12:32; 13:2, 33); sometimes called *kemarim,* "idolatrous priests" (2 Kings 23:5). Besides these, there were also apparently *kedheshim,* "male prostitutes," and *kedheshoth,* "sacred harlots," in connection with high places (2 Kings 23:7; 1 Kings 14:23, 24; 15:12-14; cf. Deut. 23:17, 18; Hos. 4:14).

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[1] Cf. 1 Kings 2:28; also, the proper name *Oholibamah* in Gen. 36:2, signifying "tent of the high place."

[2] Diodorus Siculus, xx, 65.

Accordingly, the ritual practiced at the High Places was not only ceremonial but sensual; having been borrowed largely from the Canaanites. Joy and feasting especially characterized their worship (1 Sam. 9:12, 13). The rites performed probably typified the annual renewal of Nature. Tithes were brought thither (Amos 4:4; Gen. 28:20-22). Doubtless many of Canaan's High Places became dedicated in due time to Jehovah. Solomon, for example, sacrificed and burnt incense in the High Place of Gibeon, offering a thousand burnt-offerings upon the altar there (1 Kings 3:4), and to please his foreign wives, built other High Places to Chemosh and Molech, burning incense and sacrificing to their gods (1 Kings 11:7, 8). In David's day, Gibeon was *the* Great High Place (1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29). In process of time the Hebrews joined with the Canaanites in their worship of Baal at these *bamoth.* Especially after the revolt of the Ten Tribes under Jeroboam, the religion of the Northern Kingdom of Israel became mixed, and the people's minds became confused. Jeroboam built "houses of High Places, made priests from among the people, and placed in Bethel the priests of the High Places" (1 Kings 12:31, 32; 13:2, 32, 33); the inevitable result being religious syncretism, or a mixture of Baal and Jehovah worship. And as time went on Israel departed farther and farther from the worship of Jehovah, imperfect as that already was under Solomon. Elijah, as a patriot, could only protest against the worship of Israel's sanctuaries rather than against the sanctuaries themselves (1 Kings 19:10-14); though, it is no exaggeration to say that the grossest and most sensual forms of religion described in the Old Testament were associated with High Place worship. Hosea paints a vivid picture of their practices, though he mentions *bamoth* by name only once in all his prophecies (Hos. 10:8). To him the High Places of Aven were "the sin of Israel," and he predicts that they will be destroyed. He accordingly warns Israel against such sacrifices and libations (Hos. 9:4); points a finger of scorn at their rewards of adultery—bread, water, wool, flax, oil, drink, gain, new wine, silver and gold, which they in turn bestow upon Baal (Hos. 2:5, 8; 7:14); denounces them for burning incense to other gods, for being clothed in gala dress and decked with earrings and jewels (Hos. 2:13); threatens destruction upon the rewards of licentiousness received from their lovers (Hos. 2:12); and pronounces the ruin of all those who give themselves over to divination and harlotry in the name of religion (Hos. 4:12, 14). Amos, also, declares that "the High Places of Israel shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste" (Amos 7:9). And Isaiah, like Hosea, gives a most striking description of heathen rites practiced at these *bamoth* (Isa. 57:5-8), specifying how the people inflame themselves among the oaks, slay their children in the valleys, among the smooth stones which were regarded by them as the abode of the *numina,* or gods; pour out drink offerings as sacrifices on high mountains, and set up memorials of shame—alluding, perhaps, to phallic worship (Isa. 57:8; cf. Ezek. 16:17). Isaiah further describes Moab as literally wearying himself in prayer upon his High Places (Isa. 16:12). And so it was through much of Israel's history. For, when, at last, the author of 2 Kings sums up the reasons for the downfall of North Israel, he ascribes it to their having built up High

(*See Chapter II*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

The Tunnel, near Bâb as-Sîḳ

Places in all their cities and on them burned incense, as did the nations whom Jehovah carried away before them (2 Kings 17:9, 11).

Judah and Jerusalem were morally and religiously not much better. Under Rehoboam the people built High Places in Judah, and the King appointed priests for them (1 Kings 14:23; 2 Chron. 11:15). Asa, however, is said to have taken away out of Judah, "the foreign altars, and the High Places," "the pillars and the Asherim," and, also, "the sun images" (2 Chron. 14:3-5). On the other hand, Jehoram, King of Judah, who married the idolatrous daughter of Ahab, again built up High Places in the mountains of Judah (2 Chron. 21:11), which no one of his successors —Jehoash (2 Kings 12:3), Amaziah (2 Kings 14:4), Uzziah (2 Kings 15:4), and Jotham (2 Kings 15:35)—ever removed. Ahaz is said to have "sacrificed and burnt incense" upon them (2 Kings 16:4; 2 Chron. 28:4, 25). Hezekiah, on the other hand, removed them, instituting a genuine religious reformation (2 Kings 18:4; 2 Chron. 31:1), the historicity of which is most reasonably attested, and more and more is being conceded (2 Kings 18:22; 2 Chron. 32:12). But Manasseh is said to have rebuilt them (2 Kings 21:3; 2 Chron. 33:3, 17, 19). Josiah, however, undertook and carried out a most drastic reformation, putting down and degrading the idolatrous priests and destroying the High Places of all his predecessors, including Solomon's (2 Kings 23:5, 8, 13-15, 19, 20; 2 Chron. 34:3).

Yet, during all the period of schism between Israel and Judah, and also after Samaria fell, even down to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C., the prophets of Judah say little or nothing about High Places as such. Isaiah, for example, shows no pronounced hostility to High Places themselves (Isa. 14:14; 15:2; 16:12; 36:7; 58:14). Micah, too, is all but silent concerning them;

his allusions being figurative rather than literal (Micah 1:3, 5:3, 12). Jeremiah, however, is more explicit and pronounced. He rebukes with stern emphasis the people for having built the High Places of Topheth, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and daughters in the fire (Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 32:35), because they are centers of sin throughout all Judah's borders (Jer. 17:3); and he threatens in Jehovah's name to cut off even Moabites who sacrifice in High Places (Jer. 48:35). Ezekiel in similar strains protests against Judah's High Places, and threatens in Jehovah's name to destroy them (Ezek. 6:3, 6). He further points a finger of reproach at those who attempt to make the High Places attractive, decking them with divers colors (Ezek. 16:16), and warns Judah's enemies who, having humbled Judah, congratulate themselves on possessing the ancient High Places of God's people (Ezek. 36:2).

After the downfall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., naturally we hear very little of High Places in the Old Testament. The Captivity, indeed, accomplished what neither Hezekiah nor Josiah could do. The people had learned at great cost the folly of idolatry, and their descendants who returned from exile in 536 B.C. had no disposition to revive the old local cults whose ritual had been so long interrupted. In the fifth century B.C., however, scattered Jews in Egypt quite justifiably built altars to Jehovah in Elephantine, and in the third century B.C. at various places in the Delta.

Modern discoveries confirm many of these facts. Archæologists in recent years have unearthed more than one ancient High Place in Palestine. Chief among those discovered is the one found by Macalister in 1902 at Gezer.[3] It is the largest and most important *bamah* as yet unearthed in Palestine proper. Several of the essential features of an ordinary High Place, however, are wanting. For example, there is no court for the worshipers in connection with it; and no certain place for the ʻasherah, or pole; and it is doubtful whether there is an altar connected with it, though Macalister thinks it possible that the bank of hard earth some distance to the south of the pillars—a bank about eleven feet in length and excessively difficult to cut—may have been the *bamah*. A similar altar of baked earth, ornamented with figures of animals in relief, was found by the Austrians at Taanach. It is especially the eight huge unhewn monoliths which stand in a row on bases of smaller stones, due north and south, ranging in height from 10 feet, 6 inches to 5 feet, 5 inches, which define this place as a genuine *bamah* of the ancient Canaanites. The laver is identified with a square block of stone, about six by five feet in size, standing beside the row of pillars. Having a rectangular hollow cut in the top of it, it is supposed to have been intended for ablutions. Beneath it are two large caves, which are connected with each other by a narrow and crooked passage. They are thought to have been once the residences of the "cave dwellers" in Gezer. Originally they were independent of each other, but now they are connected; the conjecture being that they were probably once used for oracular purposes. Macalister fancies that the inner chamber was the secret chamber, in which a priest, or a boy, was hidden, in order to serve as the mouthpiece of the god. The human voice issuing from the mouth of the narrow tunnel, connecting the two caves, would be regarded as the voice of a spirit. In Solomon's Temple, it will be remembered, provision was made for an oracle (1 Kings 6:16; cf. 1 Sam. 28:7-25; Isa. 8:19). Underneath the *bamah* in a stratum of earth were also found some twenty earthen jars containing the skeletons of infants, all

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[3] See his description of it in the *Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement,* 1903, pp. 23-36.

(See Chapter VIII) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem

Gorge on the way to ad-Dair

very young. Beside these jars, or, in some cases, inside them, other smaller vessels were discovered, in which food was probably deposited for the infants in the other world. The bones in these jars are supposed to have been those of first-born sons, who had been sacrificed to some deity, either to appease his wrath or to obtain his help (2 Kings 3:27; Mic. 6:7). A bell-shaped pit resembling an ordinary cistern, situated a little to the east of the sacred caves, and apparently a little outside the sacred precincts of the sanctuary, which was used probably as the depository of the refuse from the sacrifices, completes the equipment of the Gezer High Place. In 1905 another *bamah* was found at Gezer, having four standing maẓẓeboth and the base of a fifth.[4]

Still other altars and pillars have been discovered from time to time in Palestine, but it would be a misnomer to speak of them all as *bamoth*. For example, Sellin, in 1904, unearthed at Taanach, on the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon in Galilee, a double row of five maẓẓeboth. And Mackenzie in 1912 discovered a sanctuary at Bethshemesh.[5] While cutting a trench across the central area of the site known to the Arabs as ʻAin Shams, he found five pillars lying on their sides as though they had been knocked down, which he regards as the sacred pillars, or boetyls, of a High Place. He conjectures that they were set up in veneration of the dead, the spirit of the departed being imagined by the ancients to take possession of his pillar on the performance of certain ceremonial and magical rites for that purpose. At a point west of the High Place a circle of stones was found, which leads by a shaft through the rock down into a great subterranean chamber, or burial grave, resembling those found at Gezer and Taanach. The cave extended far beneath the pillars of the High Place, and was furnished with all the paraphernalia of the cult of the dead, in the same position in which they had been left thousands of years ago.[6]

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[4] Cf. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* 1907, pp. 267ff.

[5] Cf. *Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement,* 1912, pp. 171-178.

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[6] For additional literature on High Places and their ritual, consult Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lectures), 1909; Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day,* 1902; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 1894; H. B. Greene, art., "Hebrew Rock Altars," *The Biblical World,* 1897, pp. 329-340; G. F. Moore, art., "High Place," *Encyclopedia Biblica;* W. C. Allen, art., "High Place," Hastings' *Dict. Bible;* A. von Gall, *Altisraelische Kulstätten,* 1898.

II

EDOM

XIV

THE LAND OF EDOM

In the Old Testament the name "Edom" stands sometimes for the people (Num. 20:18-21; 1 Sam. 14:47), and sometimes for the land which the people occupied (2 Kings 3:20; Num. 20:23).[1]

Various phrases and designations are employed when the land alone is definitely referred to, such as "the land of Edom" (Gen. 36:16, 17; 1 Kings 9:26; Isa. 34:6), "the field (i.e., the territory) of Edom" (Gen. 32:3; Judg. 5:4), and "the wilderness of Edom" (2 Kings 3:8);[2] and parallel to these, not infrequently, "the land of Seir" (Gen. 32:3) and "mount Seir" (Gen. 14:6; 36:8, 9; Deut. 1:2; 2:1, 5; Josh. 24:4; 2 Chron. 20:10, 22, 23), "Edom" and "Seir" being used interchangeably (Num. 24:18).

The general location of Edom's territorial possessions was south of Judah, the Dead Sea, and Moab, and north of the Peninsula of Sinai, the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, and the desert of Arabia; but her boundaries naturally contracted and expanded, like those of other nations, at different epochs in her history.

In latitude, her territory extended so as to include the mountains on both sides of the 'Arabah; but the more important portion, what indeed was the cradle of Edom's national life, was the region of Mt. Seir, the name usually associated with the high mountains east of the 'Arabah and south of Moab. By nature the mountains of this region screened the inhabitants from their foes, and fostered their national existence.[3] Her neighbors on the west were naturally the Amalekites, while those on the east were the Arabian tribes of the desert. There is nothing in the Old Testament, nor elsewhere, which requires us to restrict Edom's territory to either side of the great divide known as the 'Arabah, which extends from the Dead Sea almost straight south to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. On the contrary, even early in her history, Edom seems to have included in her domain the mountainous portions on both sides of the 'Arabah.[4] Certain Egyptian records depict Adumu, or Edom, as extending already in ancient times far across the Peninsula of Sinai.[5] On the basis, also, of Numbers 20:14-16, 22, 23, which tells of Moses' asking permission of the king of Edom to cross his territory, there is very substantial reason for concluding that when the Israelites finally resolved to enter Canaan (this time from the East) the territory of Edom stretched far to the west of the 'Arabah, even to "Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of Edom's border" (Num. 20:16).[6] Indeed, so far as we know, no one ever limited Edom's

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[1] Ordinarily in Hebrew, the feminine form of the word is used when speaking of the country (Jer. 49:17; Ezek. 35:15; 25:13, 14; 32:29); once in Mal. 1:4, however, the term, though feminine, evidently alludes to the people. The references in Num. 34:3; Josh. 15:1 may refer to either.

[2] Referring to the wilderness north of the Edomite mountains, according to Buhl.

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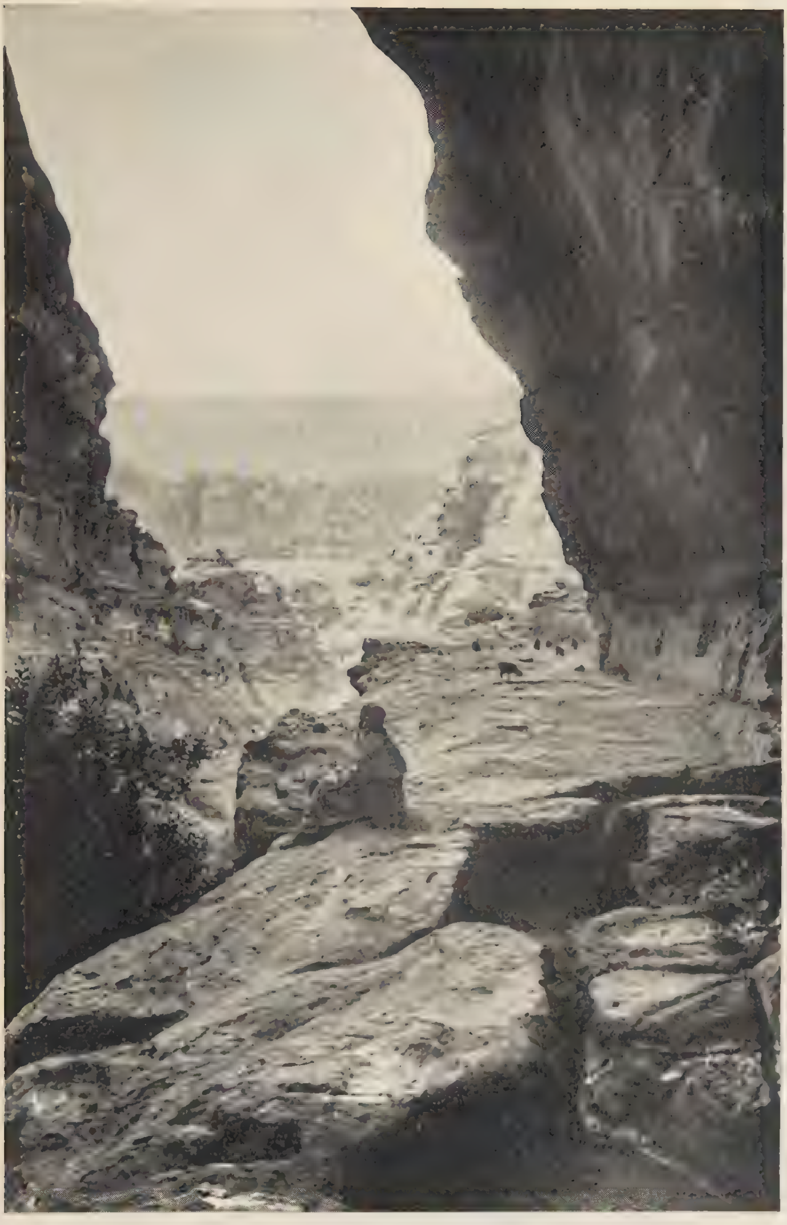
[3] On the contrary, Baudissen, on the basis of Gen. 27:39 argues that the west side of the 'Arabah was the original home of the Edomites (Art., "Edom," *Realencyclopedia*, p. 163); but this passage in Genesis, when correctly interpreted, suits the east side of the 'Arabah quite as well as the west. Musil, also, speaks frequently of the west side as "Old Edom." Ezekiel describes the desolation of Edom as extending "from Teman even unto Dedan" (ch. 25:13).

[4] So Buhl, *Die Geschichte der Edomiter*, p. 26; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*, p. 99; "H. C." in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1860, p. 10; G. A. Smith, *Expositor*, 1908, p. 331; Lord Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom*, etc., p. 45; G. B. Gray, *Comm. on Numbers*, p. 266.

[5] *Stele Anastas*, vi, 4, 14, a papyrus of the twelfth century B.C. (cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 135).

[6] Stanley's disposition of this passage as "an anachronism borrowed from the times after the captivity" is unsatisfactory (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 160 n.).



(See Chapter VIII) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Spring en route to Dair, showing different figures and a Byzantine Cross cut in rocks on the right territory to the east side of the 'Arabah till the eighteenth century.[7] A century later Edward Robinson revived this opinion, however, claiming that in Moses' day the territory of Edom was limited to the mountains on the east of the 'Arabah.[8] But, in advocating this view, Robinson departed from his own previous, original and more tenable position of 1833, when he wrote, "It is not necessary to regard the Edomites as wholly confined to this region. It is not improbable that they also had possession at least occasionally of the mountains and parts of the deserts west of the Ghor; as we know that at a later period they subdued the southern part of Palestine as far as Hebron."[9]

To the superficial observer the Ghor, or 'Arabah, seems to be a natural division to the whole region. But, well defined though it is, as a deep broad border between the high mountains of Seir on the east and the less formidable hills and low mountains on the west, it cannot be regarded as a geographical frontier in the sense that it was ever a boundary between tribes and nations. Historically it has never, so far as is known, served as a tribal boundary. Neither the Nabateans, nor the Romans, nor the modern Arabs ever recognized the 'Arabah as a natural division of desert territory. On the contrary, for generations, indeed, up till a century ago, Petra on the east side of the 'Arabah was under the government of Gaza in the extreme west.[10] To-day, the Arabs roam freely from one side of the deep valley to the other. Topographically, also, both sides share in the same system of drainage, discharging the water which collects in their respective wâdies through the ʻArabah into either the Dead Sea, or the Gulf of ʻAḳabah.[11]

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[7] Reland, *Palaestina,* 1714, pp. 66-70.

[8] Cf. Robinson's "Notes on Biblical Geography," *Bibliotheca Sacra,* 1849, p. 380; likewise, Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* 1809, p. 436, also, Hoskins, *From the Nile to Nebo,* 1905, p. 340.

[9] *Biblical Repository,* 1833, p. 250.

[10] Cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches,* ii, p. 547; Lord Lindsay quotes Procopius (*De bello Persico,* i, 19; *Script. Byzant.,* p. 262) as saying: "The region between Ailah and the territory of Gaza was formerly named Arabia, the king of the Arabs in elder times holding his court in the city of Petra" (*Letters on Egypt, Edom,* etc., ii, p. 342).

To define Edom's precise boundaries is a more difficult task. Nomads are mercurial in their habits and are liable to wander far beyond their own accustomed localities.[12] Nevertheless, a line following in general the course of the modern Ḥajj, or Pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca, would approximately bound Edom's territory on the east. On the west, much would depend upon the relative strength of the Amalekites and other tribes that previously occupied the great stretches of the Bâdiet at-Tîḥ, or "Wilderness of the Wanderings." The Israelites under Joshua had conquered the Amalekites (Exod. 17:8-16), so that during their thirty-eight, or more, years of desert experience they were able safely to rendezvous at Kadesh-barnea, which was a city in the uttermost of Edom's territory (Num. 20:16). Accordingly, Holland fixed upon the Wâdi roadbed passing through the mountains south of Palestine;[13] Trumbull favored the Wâdi al-ʻArîsh as Edom's western limit.[14]

Where Edom's southern boundary was, is almost as difficult to fix; but it is reasonably certain, that their recognized domain extended well toward the head of the Gulf of ʻAḳabah: "They journeyed from mount Hor by the way to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom" (Num. 21:4). In Solomon's day Eloth was a sea port of Edom (1 Kings 9:26). East and west from Eloth, the boundary line, if there ever were one, is quite impossible to trace. The desert of the wandering on the southwest, and the desert of Arabia on the southeast do not furnish any real clue.[15]

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[11] Cf. G. A. Smith, *Expositor,* 1908, p. 331.

[12] Seligsohn speaks quite recklessly when he says, "The boundaries of Edom are very concisely defined" (Art., "Edom," *Jewish Encyclopædia,* p. 40).

[13] Cf. *Journal of Victorian Institute,* xiv, pp. 2-11; *Report of British Association,* 1878, pp. 622ff.

[14] *Kadesh-Barnea,* p. 115.

Edom's northern limits are not so difficult to trace. According to Deuteronomy 2:13, the brook Zered seems to have been the boundary on the northeast when Israel journeyed toward Canaan under Moses. The brook Zered is usually identified with the Wâdi al-Aḥsi, which flowing northwestwardly opens out into the Ghor as-Sâfieh, thus discharging its waters into the southern end of the Dead Sea.[16] Sandstone becomes the dominating type of rock in this valley; but farther on, sandstone is seldom seen. Moab, of course, was Edom's close neighbor on the north (Judg. 11:17, 18; 2 Kings 3:8, 9).[17]

The Sebkha, or "Slime Pits," at the southern end of the Dead Sea, unquestionably lay close along Edom's northern boundary (cf. Num. 20:14-16; 21:1-3); while on the northwest was Judah, the northwest boundary of Edom and the southern boundary of Judah being very probably identical (Num. 34:3, 4; Josh. 15:1-4). When these two passages are compared, it appears that the northwest boundary of Edom ran most likely from the south end of the Dead Sea,

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[15] Burckhardt, however, ventures to suggest the steep edge of the Sherra district toward Arabia as a part of the southeast boundary (*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* p. 723); Musil ("Edom," *Arabia Petræa,* i, p. 51) and Doughty (*Arabia Deserta,* i, p. 26) also favor this conspicuous escarpment as marking the boundary between Edom and Arabia. No one can say where it was with certainty. The ninety-seven pillars set up in 1897 between Rafia and 'Aḳabah as a boundary line between Egypt and Turkey is a decidedly modern manner of fixing national boundaries!

[16] To the Arabs Wâdi al-Aḥsi is known by different names: as Wâdi al-Ḥesa; or Ḥesi (Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* ii, p. 7); sometimes as Wâdi Adîra, or Wâdi Fellaḥ (Doughty, *Arabia Petræa,* i, pp. 26, 28); Musil gives it once as Wâdi Ḥsi. ("Edom," *Arabia Petræa,* i, p. 320); cf. G. A. Smith, *Expositor,* 1908, pp. 147ff. In its lower stretches, it is called Wâdi al-Karaḥi.

[17] It should be observed here, that the deep Wâdi al-Mojib, usually identified with the Arnon of Scripture, though a clear boundary between Moab and the Ammonites, seems never to have been the dividing line between Moab and Edom.

(*See Chapter III*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Shaubak, "a city set on a hill"

southwest, along the Wâdi Fiḳreh, past Jabal Maderah, and across the desert, through the mountains to the region about Kadesh-barnea.[18]

Thus, the territory of Edom at its widest extent, was not great, probably not more than one hundred miles square; its exact dimensions can only be approximately estimated.

SECTIONS OF EDOM

There are three well-marked divisions of Edom's domains: (1) the Western, or mountainous portion south of Judah; (2) the 'Arabah, a wide plain dividing the western low hills, so to speak, from the lofty range of Mt. Seir; and (3) the Eastern range, which was by far the most resourceful section of the entire country.

We begin with the western portion; that section now occupied by the 'Azâzimah Arabs—the least civilized and the most warlike of all the desert tribes. According to Deuteronomy 2:23; Josh. 13:3, the Avvim once dwelt in these parts. The 'Azâzimahs, like their neighbors to the southeast, the Ḥuwaitâts, have large possessions of small cattle, particularly goats, but their chief occupation is that of camel-breeding. Their whole country is peculiarly mountainous and waterless.[19] For the most part the hills or mountains of this western section are low, barren ridges, not exceeding as a rule three thousand feet in elevation above the sea, and intersected by innumerable dry wâdies. Barrenness and aridity are their most dominating characteristics. For miles in every direction the utmost desolation prevails. Hills and low mountains succeed one another without the slightest natural beauty or attraction; loose gravel and flints producing a region of sterility in its most repulsive garb.

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[18] Wâdi Fiḳreh was a possible natural boundary. It seems to be the one alluded to in Judg. 1:36, in which the author speaks of "the border of the Amorites"; "Amorites" here being emended to read, with the Septuagint, as "Edomites" (cf. G. F. Moore, *Comm. on Judges,* ad. loc.). Just north of Wâdi Fiḳreh, in the Wâdi el-Yemen, is to be located "the Ascent of the Aḳrabbim," or Scorpion Pass (Num. 34:4). Robinson's identification of "Aḳrabbim," with the cliffs in the 'Arabah some ten miles south of the Dead Sea is improbable (*Biblical Researches,* ii. p. 120); cf. Wilton, *Negeb,* p. 27.

[19] For detailed descriptions of this western section, consult Wilton, *The Negeb,* p. 19; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus,* p. 291; Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea,* pp. 115ff.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches,* ii. pp. 591ff.; Newcombe, *Military Survey Map of the Negeb,* 1921. Robinson, by moonlight, caught something of the beauty and grandeur of the desert scenes in this district.

The rocks are predominatingly limestone. Among the chief mountaain peaks stands Jabal 'Araif, resembling as its name implies, the crest or arched outline of a camel's hump. It is located in about the middle of this western half, and rises to an elevation of three thousand one hundred and forty feet. It is the highest of all the mountains in this section, being conspicuous from afar. All its western slopes are drained by the Wâdi al-'Arîsh and its numerous tributaries, while its eastern slopes are drained by Wâdies Marreh, Fiḳreh, and Ghamr, to the northeast, and several other wâdies of lesser importance to the southeast, all falling naturally into the 'Arabah and eventually into the Dead Sea. Jabal 'Araif, indeed, is the watershed of the whole western district.

The southern part of this western portion is more barren than the northern. In the latter, broad valleys intersect the mountainous plateau and signs of former habitation and fertility become more abundant. There are here also a limited number of archæological ruins, both Roman and Semitic. Nevertheless, much even of this northern part is a weird and barren desert of valleys and hills, as Palmer describes it, "a mere desolate mass of rolling hills which could never have been settled or populated." The area south of Jabal Maderah in particular Palmer describes as "an extremely ugly and uninteresting piece of country; with dull featureless hills, wâdies like huge ditches, the bottoms being paved with smooth blocks of limestone, a few shrubs and pools of rain water at long distances, a few *retem* bushes, and an occasional seyâl tree."[20] The region is desolate in the extreme. The mountains are a mass of barren, jutting rock, the plains are covered with black flints, while both mountains and plains are cut by the most complex system of watercourses, their broad bottoms being covered often with fine white sand, making them absolutely destitute of vegetable or animal life. The whole region is so terrible in its desolation, that traveling becomes excessively dreary and monotonous. At times it seems as though the mountains were impassable, but gaps such as that of Naḳb Ibn Mâr, one thousand feet above sea level (some twenty miles south of Jabal Maderah), though steep and rugged, allow camels not too heavily loaded to pass. The entire region, in short, on the west side of the 'Arabah is as dull and uninteresting as can well be imagined; and because it is so full of utter desolation, it is utterly repulsive.[21]

Captain Newcombe gives a description of this western section from the standpoint of a military man, for military purposes; he says,

> The Jabal consists of masses of limestone formation, broken by natural action into ravines and jagged cliffs. Passage through this part of the country is confined to definite tracks and water courses. Frequently, these limestone hills have long impassable vertical cliffs. Occasionally in the more central and southern portions of Wâdi al-Jeraia and Wâdi al-Jerâfi, open flat

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[20] *The Desert of the Exodus,* pp. 291, 424.

[21] What Lord Lindsay writes of the high rocky mountains around Mt. Sinai describes in only a slightly exaggerated manner the western portion of Edom: "It seems as if Arabia Petræa had once been an ocean of lava, and that while its waves were running literally mountains high, it was commanded suddenly to stand still."

> stretches of black gravel and flint, lying in long gradual slopes and ridges of soft limestone are found; occasionally also wide expanses of earth-plain are seen, like those in Wâdi Jerâfi, enclosed in precipitous hills. In all these parts water and people are scarce: even the Bedouin population is very meager. Wâdies flow only about twenty-four hours after heavy rains which may fall any time between December and March."[22]

The middle section of the land of Edom is known as the 'Arabah. It is a broad plain some ten miles wide on the average, and about one hundred miles long, extending from the south end of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of 'Akabah.[23] This deep valley, which continues the still deeper "ditch" of the Dead Sea and Jordan, is a very remarkable feature of the country. Humboldt pronounces this great valley "the most remarkable on the face of the earth"; it lays open the geological structure of the Edomite mountains to their very center. That portion of the valley south of the Dead Sea corresponds probably with the Biblical "Wilderness of Zin."[24]

The name "'Arabah," in ancient times, embraced far more than it does to-day. The reference in Joshua 8:14 shows very clearly that in Joshua's time it included the Jordan Valley north of the Dead Sea. Geologically, the name applies very appropriately to the whole valley from the foot of Mount Hermon to the Red Sea; possibly even across the Red Sea into Africa.[25] Abulfeda made the Ghor include the great valley in its fullest extent, but the modern Arabs apply the name 'Arabah to-day to that portion only which extends southward from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, while the section from the Dead Sea north to the Sea of Galilee is called al-Ghor.

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[22] See his map entitled, *The Negeb or Desert South of Beersheba;* surveyed and printed for the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1913-14.

[23] Hart gives the distance from the Dead Sea to 'Akabah as 112 miles (*Flora and Fauna*, p. 42).

[24] Num. 20:1; 33:36; cf. Hull, *Mt. Seir, Sinai and Western Palestine*, p. 75.

[25] Cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, p. 490.

Little is said by travelers through the Holy Land about the 'Arabah. Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century was there ever any reference by geographers to the existence of such a place.[27] Burckhardt of Basle in 1810 was the first to explore it, and to him we owe the first scientific description of the nature of the valley. Count de Bertou, a few years later, boasts that he and his party were the first Europeans, who in modern times had traversed the whole extent of the wâdi from the Dead Sea to 'Aḳabah; and, as a result of his study of the valley, he attempted to prove the Jordan never could have flowed all the way into the Red Sea, as some previously had supposed.[28]

The 'Arabah varies in width from one half a mile at the watershed opposite Petra to ten or even thirteen miles at its widest point.[29] It slopes slightly from east to west, and is drained toward both the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aḳabah; the watershed being about opposite Jabal Nabi Harûn and Petra, a little south of the middle of the valley.

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[27] Neither Strabo, nor Pliny, nor Ptolemy, nor Josephus, nor any other geographer or historian of antiquity, makes the slightest allusion to it, although they often speak of the Dead Sea and the Elanitic Gulf, and describe in general the regions adjacent. And the geographers and historians of the Middle Ages maintain a similar silence; cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches,* ii, p. 185.

[28] Burckhardt had previously advanced the idea that the 'Arabah had formerly been the bed of the Jordan; more recently, Hull has maintained that the waters of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah reached at one time a level of at least 200 feet higher than at present (*Mount Seir,* p. 82). In proof of his conclusion, Hull points to a ridge on the western side of the 'Arabah, composed of gravel and bowlders of granite, basalt and porphyry filled up in the manner of a moraine, as probably an old littoral beach belonging to the period when the waters of the Salt Sea washed the base of the adjoining ridge, the ridge itself being an old sea margin (p. 101). Ewing also speaks of the bottom of the 'Arabah south of the Dead Sea for 25 miles as an old sea bottom (*Temple Dictionary,* p. 28).

[29] Cf. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine,* p. 86.

Mountains bound it on both sides, east and west. Numerous torrent streams debouch upon it bringing with them bowlders, stones, gravel, and sandy silt, which cover the plain in some cases for hundreds of yards. There is much sand in the valley, the depth of which precludes all vegetation and herbage. In general, it is a dreary, sandy, desert steppe, consisting of gravel and shingle and marl for the most part, but tufted over with broom and other brush, with here and there a little pasturage. Seldom does anyone find any attempt at cultivation, but the valley is by no means destitute of green verdure.

Crossing in 1907 from Bozrah, to 'Ain Ḥasb, the writer noted in his Journal that "The 'Arabah, here, is sandy, like the waves of the sea." Stanley also describes it as "like a waste of sand when looking back upon it, but when actually in it, the shrubs at times give it almost the appearance of a jungle." Hull describes enormous mounds of pure white sand rising in dunes thirty to fifty feet high, like the dunes along the seashore. Blown sands are often piled up in great dunes covering large areas. Occasionally limestone rock appears in isolated bosses or ridges; but whether "the rocks of the 'Arabah are granite, porphyry or limestone, they are generally completely rotten."[30] The whole valley is most monotonous; awful in its sublimity, a genuine wilderness! As Count de Bertou puts it:

> In this striking and solemn waste, where nature is alike destitute of vegetation and inhabitants, man appears as but an atom; all around is enveloped in the silence of death: not a bird, not even an insect is seen. The regular step of our camels returned a dull sound as if the earth were hollowed beneath their feet; the monotonous chant of the camel driver accompanied at times the step of this inhabitant of the desert,

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[30] Hull, *Mount Seir,* p. 105.

> but suddenly stopped, as if he feared to awaken nature.[31]

Perhaps the most striking feature of this entire valley is a long low ridge of reddish porphyry rocks, or as Hull describes it, "of red and gray granite with dikes of porphyry," known as Samarat al-Fiddân. It extends north and south, on the eastern side of the plain, and rises to the maximum height of eight hundred feet above the bottom of the valley. Behind this ridge, whose presence just here is difficult to account for, lies a sort of Arabian Shephelah, (i.e. low foothills), a considerable tract of comparatively unbroken plain, or tableland, where the Arabs of the district frequently pitch their tents. Great sand dunes, in the vicinity of this ridge, form the watershed of the valley. This saddle, or watershed, is distant some forty-five miles from the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, and about sixty-five from the Dead Sea. It is called by the Arabs ar-Rishi, or as-Sathi, "the roof." In altitude it is some seven hundred and twenty-three feet above the waters of the Gulf, and 2015 feet above those of the Dead Sea.[32]

The great water collector of the 'Arabah is Wâdi al-Jeib. It rises in the tops of the Shawi mountains to the southwest, and flows first north through a wide desert landscape, and then northeast, receiving on its long way the waters of numerous smaller tributaries. As it proceeds, it becomes sunken in the marl bottom of the 'Arabah, some one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and is not only deep

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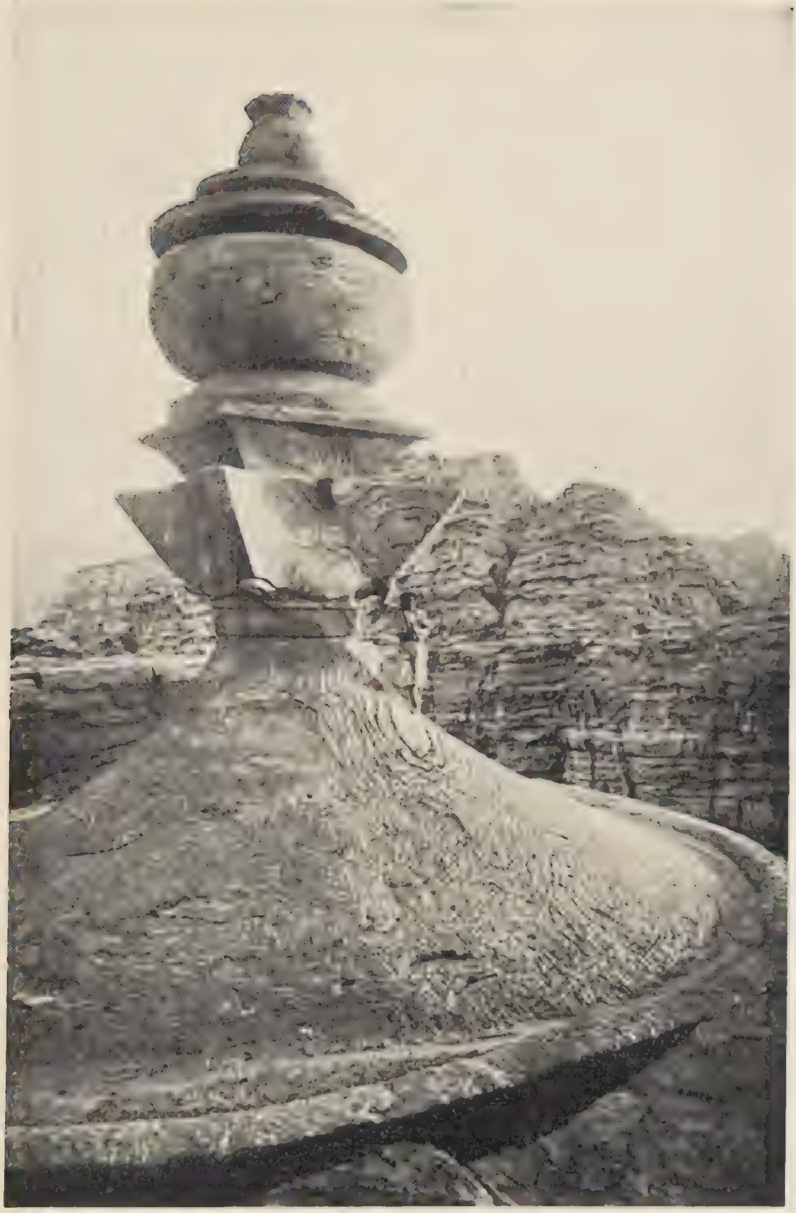
[31] Cf. his "Notes on a Journey from Jerusalem by Hebron, the Dead Sea, al-Ghor, and Wâdi 'Arabah, to 'Aḳabah and back to Petra in April, 1838," in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London,* 1839, p. 280.

[32] Cf. Hull, *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible,* I, p. 130; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine,* pp. 19, 20, 85n. Other measurements of the height of this watershed, above the Gulf, are 650 feet (Lawrence); 787 feet (Vignes); 660 feet (Armstrong and Kitchener). In any case this watershed is too high to allow of the Jordan's ever having emptied into the Gulf!



(*See Chapter VIII*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Great Urn on the Dair

but broad; at certain points being from one to two miles wide. Its bed is comparatively smooth and regular; and gives evidence of allowing at times an immense volume of water to rush along with violence. Like the Jordan River, al-Jeib is a wâdi within a wâdi. Its walls are composed of chalk and marl. It is the main drain of the 'Arabah northward.

Toward the north, the 'Arabah, proper, ends in an escarpment of clay cliffs, running transversely in crescent shape across the valley, and distant some eight miles from the south end of the Dead Sea.[33] They range from fifty to one hundred feet in height, and are composed of beds of gravel, sand and chalk, which rest on lower beds of white marl and clay.[34] The great wall of these cliffs divides the 'Arabah from the Ghor. When seen from the north they are the striking feature of the landscape; for, though their face is not perpendicular, and though they are much furrowed by rain, being white they stand out conspicuous. Along their base fountains of brackish water ooze, causing to grow canes and shrubs and trees of various tropical kinds, such as tamarisks, nubḳ, and even palms.

Between these cliffs and the Dead Sea there is a large marshy area, some eight miles in each direction, which in Arabic is called the Sebkha. This is usually considered to be the same as the Vale of Siddim, or "Slime Pits" of Genesis 14:3, 10.[35] It is flooded by the waters which flow down from the high mountains on the east, and from those on the west, as well as those which are furnished intermittently by the wâdies of the 'Arabah itself, converting the whole plain into a terrible morass. The Dead Sea also makes its own contribution to this treacherous swamp. It threatens, indeed, to cover in time permanently this whole region. Observations, by Gray Hill and others, of the steady rise of the waters of the Dead Sea, coupled with such facts as the complete disappearance, since 1892, of the little island in the northern end of the Sea, and the forests of little trees on the east and southeast shores which have been killed through being partially submerged by the salt waters, demonstrate the fact that more water is to-day being received by the Dead Sea than evaporates, and that, therefore, the Sea is constantly rising.[36] The Sebkha is a most treacherous region to cross; the crust on top, which seems to be *terra firma,* is wont suddenly to give way under the weight of one's horse, and the traveler discovers when it is, alas! too late, that he and his beast have floundered in the unknown depths of a soapy, slimy, mire![37]

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[33] Robinson identifies these cliffs, as was observed above, with the "Ascent of the Aḳrabbim" mentioned in Josh. 15:3.

[34] This is evident from the banks laid open in Wâdi al-Jeib.

[35] Historians in the Middle Ages allude to it as *Vallis Illustris.*

The extreme south end of the 'Arabah, bordering on the Gulf of 'Akabah is of quite a different character. For fifteen miles northward from the Gulf the surface of the plain is shingled over in various parts by silt deposits brought down by the wâdies from the mountains. But, like the other stretches of this long plain, this part, too, is most desolate. Yet, it was here, across this end of the great 'Arabah, that the Israelites under Moses were compelled to cross in order to compass Edom. Passing over to the eastern side of the valley they probably ascended by Wâdi al-Ithim, which opens upon the plain some four miles north of the Gulf.[38]

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[36] Cf. M. G. Kyle, *Explorations at Sodom,* 1928, pp. 160-165; Robinson, *Biblical Researches,* ii, p. 188.

[37] The Psalmist seems to allude to this region when he speaks of "a salt desert" (Ps. 107:34). Irby and Mangles describe the Sebkha as "rotten and marshy ground rendering passage most difficult" (*Travels in Egypt, Syria,* etc, p. 450). The writer once spent a nervous day essaying to cross from Ghor as-Sâfieh to 'Ain Zuwairah; the distance, ten miles, was finally covered, but only after twelve hours!

[38] So Hull, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* i, p. 131; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine,* p. 85; Ewing, *Temple Dictionary,* p. 28. This wâdi is now better known as al-Gitm, or al-Jitm. (See map of Edom.)

Israel's route was a trying one. As Kinnear fittingly comments:

> It is impossible to look around on the ghastly and almost unearthly desolation of this scene without feeling that the trials of the Israelites were far greater than we had ever before imagined.[39] However, it only furnishes additional proof of the fitness of the desert for discipline. God's purpose was to make a *new* people; where, we ask, could that purpose be more directly accomplished than in a vast solitary region into which civilized life had not yet entered, and where the old habits of his chosen people would gradually die away?

The third division of the land of Edom is that portion known as the Eastern Range. It extends, for a distance of about one hundred miles, from Wâdi al-Aḥsi to the low swampy district of al-Jafâr and the comparatively low granite formations east of, and around, the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. This range of mountains continues the Syrian system of high mountains which begins in the Lebanons and extends southward through Gilead and Moab. They are composed for the most part of limestone, resting upon porphyry and granite and rise to an elevation of three thousand five hundred to five thousand four hundred feet.[40] Geologically the whole range from Syria to Arabia constitutes a unity. Those in Edom rise imposingly when viewed from the deep 'Arabah on the west, but they are not so striking when seen from the desert tablelands on the east, the tablelands of Eastern Edom being approximately of the same elevation.[41]

The whole Eastern district naturally divides itself into two sections: al-Jabâl to the north, and ash-Shara' to the south, though the boundary between them is not very marked. Burckhardt makes Wâdi al-Ghuweir the dividing line, but Robinson reports having heard the parts about Shaubak (which are south of al-Ghuweir) called Jabâl.[42] Nevertheless, the broad deep canyon of this wâdi is a natural boundary, which with the Wâdi al-Ḥammân to the southeast completes the line of cleavage.

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[39] *Cairo, Petra,* etc., p. 67.

[40] Musil gives their different heights as 1,500 to 1,640 meters.

[41] Buhl, *Die Geschichte der Edomiter,* p. 3n.; Hull, *Mt. Seir,* pp. 80, 97.

The northern section, which the Arabs call al-Jabâl, is a high mountainous region, as the name implies.[43] Huge black peaks dominate the horizon, the summits of the main range running, as it were, into other peaks and ridges, and dropping southwardly and westwardly by terraces to lower levels.

The district of ash-Shaṛa' lies presumably south of al-Jabâl, whatever the boundary between them may have been. Whether the name ash-Shara' is to be identified with the name "Mount Seir" of the Old Testament is a question. Dalman suggests that the name is akin to that of the chief deity of Petra, Du-shara;[44] Arab geographers sometimes combined ash-Shara' with al-Gebâl calling them together "Jabal ash-Shara'" as though constituting one district or province; for example, Edrisi and Abulfeda both apply the name ash-Shara' to the whole mountain district from Kerak of Moab south as far as Ailah.[45] At other times they seem to have included the whole country under this caption, with

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[42] Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* p. 688; Robinson, *Biblical Researches,* iii, p. 103.

[43] The Greek name for this same region was *Gebalitis;* the Latin, *Gebalene.* The Hebrews also knew the district by this same name (Ps. 83:7). In the Samaritan Pentateuch "Seir" of Deut. 33:2 is rendered "Jabâl," and the same is true of "Seir" in Gen. 32:3; 1 Chron. 1:38 in the Jerusalem Targum. Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities,* ii, 1, 2; iii, 2, 1; ix, 9, 1.

[44] *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* p. 49.

[45] Cf. Jaubert's *Edrisi,* i, pp. 337-8; Köhler's edition of Abulfeda's *Tabula Syriæ,* p. 13; and Hudson's edition, *Tab. Arab.,* p. 20.

Zoar as its capital; while, again, they sometimes confine it to the southern portion of the Eastern division with Odhruh as its capital.[46]

Jabal Koula appears to be the highest summit of the ash-Shara‘ district. Beginning in the north with Jabal al-Ḥishah, the mountains of ash-Shara‘ rise higher and higher along two parallel ranges southward, attaining an elevation of some five thousand four hundred feet; then declining into Jabal al-Ḥafîr, and finally into the plain of Kudrîyat. At this point the district finds its natural frontier, the limestone ending and the sandstone beginning; the mountains themselves no longer running in ranges north and south, but east and west.[47] South of Wâdi Mûsa, especially, the mountains divide into two ranges, with a deep irregular gorge between them. The western portion is cut through by several wâdies which open out into the ‘Arabah. Most of these drain the western slopes of the main backbone of the Mount Seir district; one, however, rises far away on the border of the Arabian desert, some three days' journey east, and flows westward, emptying eventually into the Gulf of ‘Aḳabah.

In the extreme southern portion of ash-Shara‘, not far east of ‘Aḳabah is Jabal al-Ḥisma, a sandy tract, stretching far into the sandstone region of Arabia. It consists of a high plateau, dotted over with truncated cones of sandstone; the bare hills being described by Doughty as "a forest of square built mountains rising to over 2000 feet above the plain." [48] Scarcely any large portion of these strictly mountainous parts is under regular or systematic cultivation;

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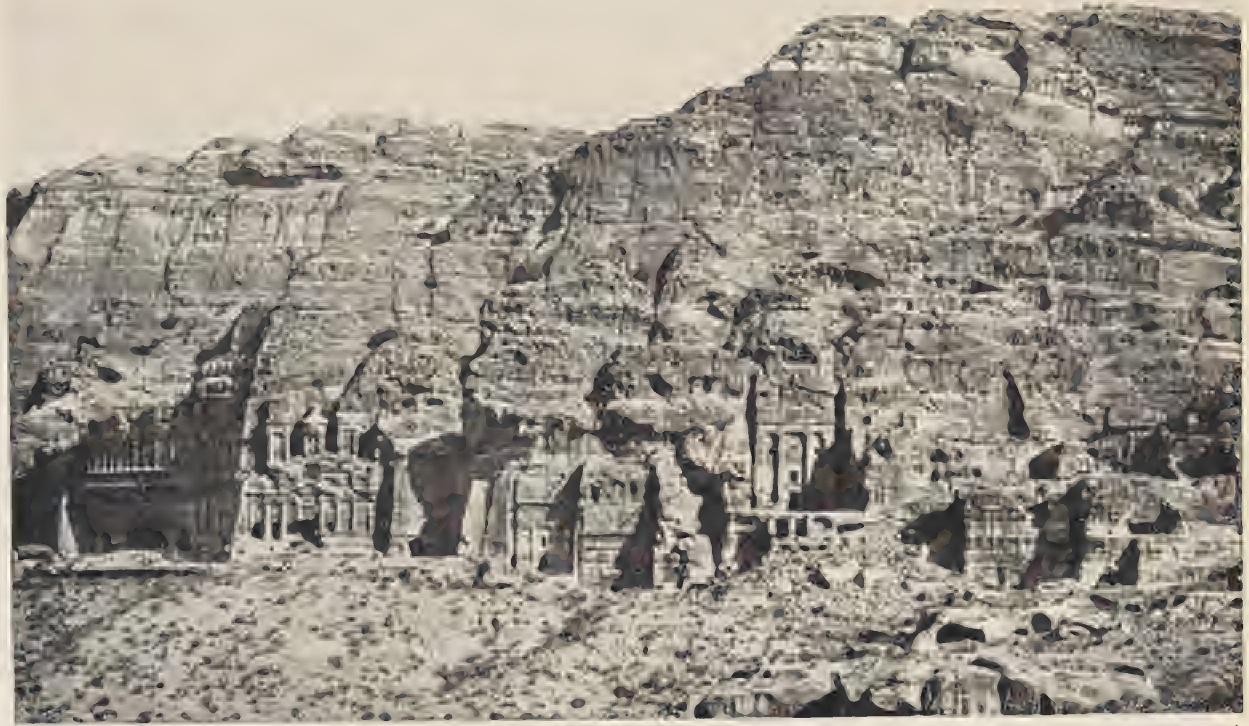
[46] Cf. La Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* pp. 24, 32ff.; De Goeje's edition of "Muḳâddasi," *Z D P V.,* vii, pp. 147, 215-223.

[47] Cf. Musil, *Arabia Petræa,* i, pp. 265-270; Doughty, *Arabia Petræa,* i, p. 45; Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* pp. 435ff.

[48] *Arabia Deserta,* i, pp. 45, 46.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

General view of tombs on façade of eastern wall (northern section) on the contrary, the whole district may be fittingly described with Lord Lindsay as "wild and gloomy and dreary."

ROADS

"The natural roads of a country are God's great landmarks." Edom has many paths but few highways. The "King's Highway" which led down from the city of Bozrah into the 'Arabah is perhaps the most representative of the whole land. The Psalmist asks, "Who will bring me into the strong city? Who hath led me into Edom"? (Pss. 60:9; 108:10). No single great trunk line has ever traversed Edom. The Ḥajj, or Pilgrim route, just east of Edom's own territory, is a modern thoroughfare of Moslem interest. Yet Edom's geographical position between Arabia in the southeast, Egypt on the southwest, and Syria on the north, and the fact that Edom's territory lay between the Mediterranean and Red Seas, literally forced her to become a highway of foreign trade by caravan in every direction.

One ancient route ran in Roman times north from Ailah on the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, through the mountains of Seir, a little east of Petra but including it, passing near by Shaubak, Bostra, Odhruh, Dhâna and Bozrah, across the Wâdi al-Aḥsi to Kerak in Moab, and so on to Damascus. Many remnants of the ancient pavement of this road and scattered Roman milestones are still to be found at different points along this route.[49] The Romans even in these remote parts built uncommonly good roads. They were paved with black basalt blocks, the borders were raised and made sharp and distinct, the road bed sloping from the center toward each side; knolls were cut down, hollows were filled in, and sometimes rocky mountains were cut away if not actually tunneled. Military stations were always planted along the roads, which in turn became the sites of new towns.

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[49] For example, northeast of Shaubak, southeast of Dhâna, and also in Moab, Gilead and Bashan. According to Hoskins, there were two Roman roads between Shaubak and Petra (*Petra and East of the Jordan,* ii, p. 34).

Though the city of Petra was not directly on this route, it nevertheless was always visited. For, in spite of its inaccessible location, being difficult for loaded camels to enter, it early became a celebrated caravan station. Alji, as a camping place, two miles to the east, helped Petra. In Strabo's time Petra seems to have enjoyed her golden age in trade, being then the most important mart on the entire route.[50]

Running almost parallel to this great Roman road of antiquity, there is to-day the modern Pilgrim route, known as the Darb al-Ḥajj, which runs from Damascus to Mecca. It passes Ma'ân, one of Edom's eastern cities some thirty miles east of Petra, following very probably an old caravan route from Syria to the Euphrates to the Red Sea. This was prior to Petra's ascendancy. To possess commercial rights on this great thoroughfare caused frequent strife between the Edomites and their neighbors. It is not, however, a made road, but rather a multitude of parallel paths beaten deep and hollow by the cushioned feet of countless camel caravans.[51]

No single road ran directly north and south through the 'Arabah all the way; the intense heat and the great scarcity of water forbade.[52] The main highway north from Ailah, or Eloth, on the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, to Beersheba, Gaza and Jerusalem, forsook the 'Arabah at a point opposite Petra, climbed the low mountains to the west and north, bent about the 'Azâzimah plateau, crossed Wâdi Fiḳreh, ascended Wâdi al-Yemen, and passing by Kurnub, finally reached the wells of Beersheba, and the places beyond. It was over this route, probably, that Solomon's cargoes from Ophir (1 Kings 9:26-28) and the tribute of Arabian kings to Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 17:11) were brought. In times of peace caravans found the route from Petra to Gaza the most direct; but when war or feuds were threatening they followed the Roman road just described.[53] Along a portion of this same route, probably, the Israelites under Moses journeyed from Sinai to Kadesh-barnea.[54]

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[50] Cf. Dalman, *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer,* p. 30; Strabo, xvi, 4, 24; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.,* v, 12.

[51] It is said to have cost Syria in recent times, annually, upwards of $250,000 to protect pilgrims, along this route, to and from Mecca.

[52] It was by this way, however, that Burckhardt traveled from Wâdi Mûsa to Cairo, in 1812.

The shortest way from Gaza to Petra ran via Kurnub, over the pass of as-Safa, across Wâdi Fiḳreh, via 'Ain Ḥasb and 'Ain al-Weibeh up over the Naḳb an-Nemele Pass, and through the Sîḳ of al-Baidha to Petra.[55] Naturally every route which connected the western district of Edom with the eastern, was tedious, inasmuch as caravans were forced to climb up some four or five thousand feet to reach the level of Mt. Seir; yet, there were two or three such ascents possible: one was from 'Ain Ḥasb, via Fanân, to Shaubak; another, was from 'Ain Ḥasb, via 'Ain al-Weibeh and the pass of Naḳb Nemele to Wâdi Mûsa—a part of it being artificially constructed in order to make it passable. By far the most difficult of all, and almost impassable for loaded animals, is the way from the Ghor as-Sâfieh, up the Wâdi al-Aḥsi, by the village of 'Aimeh to Tafîla. This route was probably seldom chosen. On the other hand, the best, the easiest, and the most luxurious of all routes, from the western side to the eastern, is that spoken of in Numbers 20:17 as "the king's highway," which is to be identified with the Naḳb ad-Dahal, ascending from 'Ain

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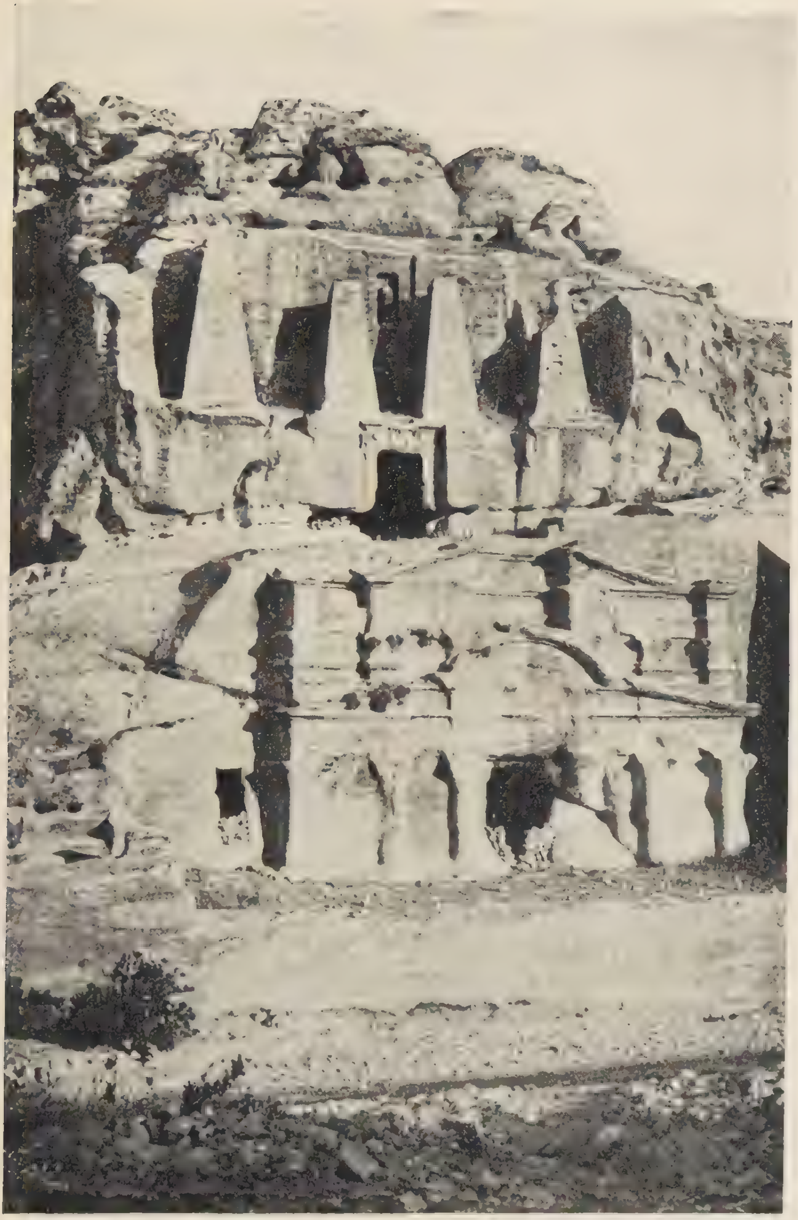
[53] Cf. the *Tabula Peutingeriana.*

[54] According to Deut. 1:2, "There are eleven days' caravan travelling from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea."

[55] Cf. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* p. 30.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Obelisk Tomb and Classical Tomb in Bâb as-Sîḳ

Ḥasb to Bozrah, Dhâna, and Gharândal.[56] By this route Moses besought the king of Edom to allow the Israelites to pass, but was denied the privilege. They, therefore, were forced to turn and compass the southern extremity of Edom by way of the Red Sea (Num. 20:17-21; 21:4-9; Deut. 2:1-8); and ascended the narrow volcanic Wâdi al-Jitm (northeast of 'Aḳabah) to Ma'ân, and so passed on in a northern direction, on the east of Edom, along perhaps what is now the Ḥajj route, to the plains of Moab.[57]

WATER RESOURCES

Edom's water resources are limited; yet the country is not altogether waterless. In the bottoms of many of the wâdies sometimes even copious springs emerge, the moisture from which, through infiltration produces here and there considerable quantities of vegetation. But the geological character of the land causes a speedy disappearance of the surface waters, so that, like the Negeb, or South Country, everywhere, there are no perennial streams worthy of the name. Yet, small brooks are not entirely unknown, and dew is very abundant.[58] Many little fountains issue from between the porous upper, and the less porous lower, strata of the limestone rocks; also, at the union of the latter with the sandstone. On the wholly limestone plateaus, where no springs appear, cisterns and dams and other artificial reservoirs preserve to some extent the winter rainfall.

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[56] Of the three routes by which the writer traveled, this is by far the best.

[57] This route, according to Musil, is frequently used to-day by the Arabs when journeying from 'Aḳabah to al-Ḥisma.

[58] The Psalmist speaks of "the turning of our captivity (as unexpectedly) as torrents in the Negeb" (Ps. 126:4). Palmer speaks of Edom's "goodly streams" (*The Desert of the Exodus,* p. 430). According to Gen. 27:39, Edom is to enjoy dew! Buhl is wrong in interpreting this passage as of the west half of Edom only (*Die Geschichte der Edomiter,* p. 43).

Among the most important of Edom's fountains are 'Ain 'Arus, 'Ain Ḥasb, 'Ain al-Weibeh, 'Ain Budeirah, and 'Ain Tayyibeh in the 'Arabah; also 'Ain Mûsa near Alji, and the springs in or near Shaubak, Dhâna, Bozrah and Tafîla, on the east; and 'Ain Ḳadees, 'Ain Ḳuderat, 'Ain Maghâra (south of Ḳadees), 'Ain al-Ḳattâr (south of Jabal Maderah), 'Ain al-Ghazâlet, 'Ain al-Iḳseib, and 'Ain al-Ibweira, the last three mentioned being located in the northeastern quarter of the western section. Nevertheless, a large part of Edom is arid and parched much of the year.

Were Edom better watered, she would be a very productive country. She possesses a large variety of soils for so small a land. Palmer comments with enthusiasm on her fertility; he says, "The country is extremely fertile. Goodly streams flow through the valleys which are filled with trees and flowers; while on the uplands to the east, rich pasture lands and corn fields may everywhere be seen." [59] These statements are somewhat extreme. On the contrary, the soil of the western portion, as we have seen, is for the most part arid and unyielding, because covered with a carpet of gravel and flints. According to Doughty, there is an extensive limestone plain east of Bozrah, which is also covered with flints.[60] The 'Arabah is almost totally arid and barren. However, in spite of the utter barrenness of much of Edom's territory, occasionally, here and there, a patch of brown parched herbage and a small field of barley may be seen.[61] Between Ma'ân and Petra there are several good proofs of Edom's fertility. But, in general, as Doughty puts it, "Esau's land is one great barren tract of gravel and stones, parts of it being little better than a wilderness of stones."

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[59] *The Desert of the Exodus,* pp. 287, 430ff.; cf. G. B. Gray, *Comm. on Num.,* p. 266.

[60] *Arabia Deserta,* i, p. 31.

[61] Cf. Buhl, *Die Geschichte der Edomiter,* pp. 9ff.

Very naturally Edom, like all other inhabited lands, is not wholly unproductive. Besides those parts already described there are areas like the stretch between Wâdi al-Aḥsi and Tafîla which are exceptionally fertile and correspondingly fruitful. The northern half of the eastern section abounds not only in pasturage, but to some extent also in timber and fruit. The section between Shaubak and Petra, for example, is especially rich in oak, terebinth and poplar. Doughty tells of "hollow park-like grounds with evergreen oak-timber."[62] Musil reports how he "rode over high durr grass, passing many strong *butum* trees and thick brush."[63] Wâdi Ghuweir is celebrated for its pastures; the gardens and terraces about Ma'ân, Alji, Shaubak, Bozrah and Tafîla are also attractive; these villages being fairly rich in cultivated fruits.[64]

The Edomites were even able at times to share their products with other peoples, exporting to Egypt, Arabia, and Syria limited quantities of timber, oil and cattle. The prophet in Isaiah 60:7 speaks of "the rams of Nebaioth," which will some day be brought as sacrifices to Jehovah. Eupolemus also discourses on the importance of cattle to Judah, brought from Arabia.[65] Strabo, likewise, testifies that Edom was a country well-peopled, and abounding in cattle.[66] And he adds, that the sheep have white faces, that their oxen are large, and that camels are used instead of horses.[67]

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[62] *Arabia Deserta,* i, p. 39.

[63] Cf. also, Wilson, *Quarterly Statement,* 1899, p. 307; and Hart, *Fauna and Flora,* 1891.

[64] Abu Kaukâl, an Arab historian of the Middle Ages, describes Edom as very productive, saying, that "the mountains are exceptionally rich in products such as oil, almonds, figs, pomegranates, and vineyards." Cf. *Z D P V.*, vi, 5; viii, 123.

[65] Cf. *Fragm. Histor. Graec.,* iii, p. 226.

[66] Strabo, xvi, 4, 18; cf. Pliny, xxi, p. 72.

Edom's most productive source of income and prosperity, especially in later times, was trade. Possessing Eloth she held the key sea port of Red Sea trade and commerce. Petra was the chief desert metropolis of the overland caravan trade from Arabia in incense, spices, gum Arabic, and medicines. The Nabateans were the original carriers of commerce between the Red Sea and Phœnicia. Diodorus Siculus tells how, in the first expedition sent by Antigonus (the men of Petra being absent at a mart), Athenæus found in the city great quantities of myrrh, and five hundred talents of silver which had been purchased and stored in the recesses of that rock city.[68] Strabo also relates that the wares of India and Arabia were brought on camels from Leukekome, on the Red Sea, to Petra, and thence to Rhinacolusa or Wâdi al-'Arîsh, and other places.[69] Under the Romans, especially, trade flourished, being promoted by the government which protected caravans against predatory hordes, and helped immeasurably through better roads. The sons of Edom also shared with Gaza and Tyre in carrying on an active slave trade which involved Israel (cf. Amos 1:6, 9).

Hunting, too, was ever a constant source of Edom's productive resources; Esau's native love for the chase being shared by all his descendants.[70]

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[67] At the same time, Edom's exports were not important; with the exception of small cattle, of aromatic and medicinal herbs, and of vegetable alkali we never hear Jewish or Greek writers speak of a surplus.

[68] Diodorus Siculus, xix, p. 95, cf. Obadiah, v. 6, which refers to Edom's treasures.

[69] Cf. Dalman, *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer,* p. 29; Strabo, xvi, 4, 18-24.

[70] Cf. Gen. 25:28, 29; 27:3ff.; cf. also, Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* p. 681; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus,* pp. 325, 357; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration,* etc., i, pp. 256, 271.

XV

THE GEOLOGY OF EDOM

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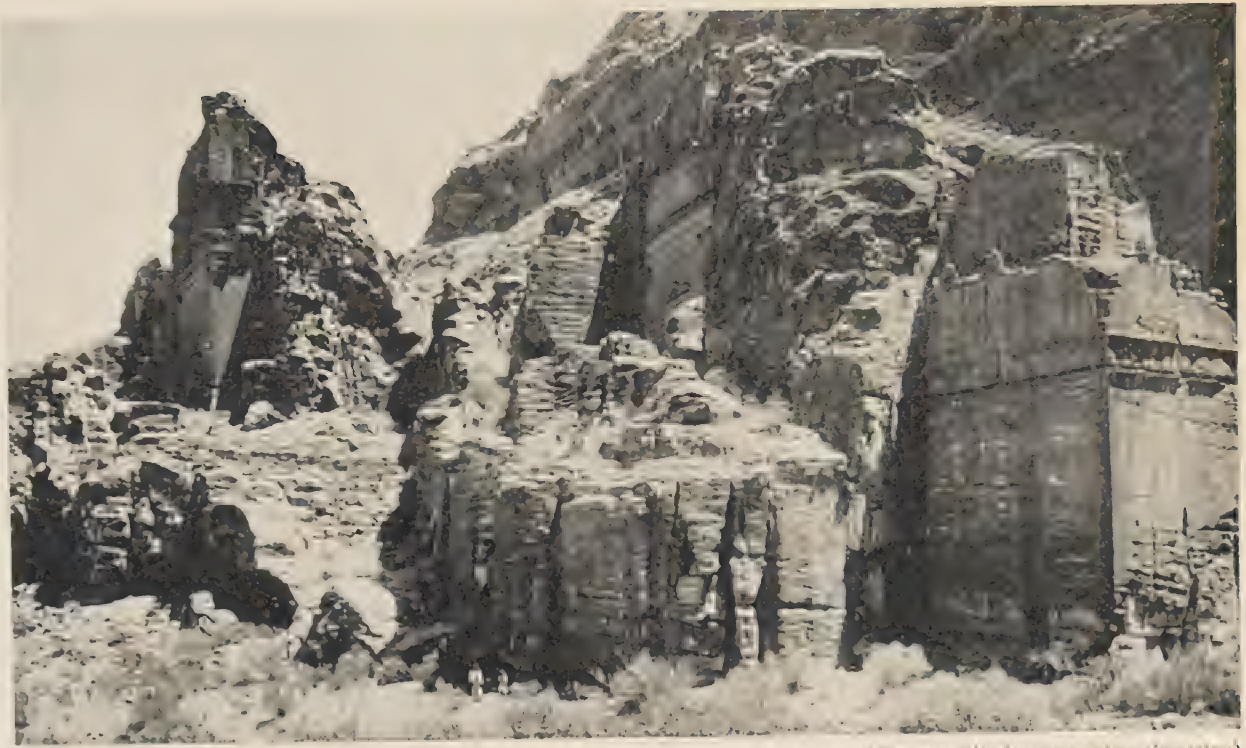
The sandstone of Petra, out of which have been carved the temples and tombs, the stairways, the altars, and nearly all the features of that wonderful place, may well be made the starting point for a consideration of the geology of Edom. Such a consideration must necessarily include references to regions as far away as Egypt and Syria, since this sandstone is a vast formation which can be traced from Nubia to Lebanon and to distant parts of the great peninsula of Arabia.

In Lebanon, the sandstone has yielded some poorly preserved remains of plants and a few bones of dinosaurs. The zone of Trigonia Syriaca, Fraas, which at some places in Lebanon is very rich in fossils of Lower or Middle Cretaceous age, belongs at the upper limit of the sandstone; and its strata form a gradual transition from the sandstone to the upper limestone, which is Middle and Upper Cretaceous. The great mass of the sandstone in Lebanon is, however, without fossils; and no fossils have been reported from the sandstone in the south. Determinations of its age, therefore, have for the most part been made not from its own internal paleontological evidence, but from its relations to other formations, and have exhibited much diversity of opinion.



(See Chapter IX)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Tombs in Lower Sîḳ, near the Theater

In 1833, Botta [1] published a memoir on the Lebanon, whose strata he divided into three main groups, which he called respectively lower, middle and upper, the middle group consisting of the sandstone, which he considered to be of Albian (Lower Cretaceous) age. Russegger,[2] who in 1835-1840 traveled through Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia, and then northward through Sinai, Palestine and Syria, as far as the Taurus, accepted the classification of Botta, considering the sandstone of Egypt and Sinai to be of the same age as that of Lebanon, and gave to the whole the name of Nubian Sandstone, which name has been adopted by many subsequent writers. In 1849, Dr. Anderson,[3] the geologist of the American expedition to the Dead Sea under Lieutenant Lynch, U. S. A., considered the sandstone of Lebanon and Moab to be a relatively recent (tertiary) deposit, resting unconformably in hollows of the limestone. In 1904, Professor Libbey [4] of Princeton took much the same view of the sandstone of Petra and vicinity, considering it to have been deposited by a great river flowing southward to the sea through the Jordan-‘Arabah rift valley before the formation of the Dead Sea, but subsequent to the deposition of the limestone, and moreover subsequent to the formation of the valley itself.

The most voluminous and, in some respects, the most valuable work dealing with this subject is that of Dr. Lartet,[5] geologist with the Dead Sea expedition of the Duc de Luynes in 1864. He assured himself of the Cretaceous age of the limestone immediately overlying the sandstone, and was strongly inclined to count the sandstone as Lower

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[1] "Observations sur le Liban et l'Anti-Liban," *Mémoire de la Soc. Géol. de France,* 1 re sér., t. l., p. 135, 1833.

[2] *Reisen in Europa, Asien, Afrika, 1835-1841,* 1841, I Bd., II Th.

[3] *Official Report of the U. S. Expedition to Explore the Dead Sea and the Jordan,* Lieut. Lynch, U. S. A., 1852.

[4] Libbey and Hoskins, *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* 1905.

[5] *Exploration géologique de la Mer Morte,* about 1874.

Cretaceous, but, influenced by the discoveries of Bauerman and others in Sinai (to be presently referred to), he says: "It appears to be decidedly proved that the sandstones of Nubia and Sinai belong *wholly* or *in part* (italics are ours) to the end of the Paleozoic period and more especially to the carboniferous epoch" (p. 46). It seems moreover that he did not attach much importance to the *in part,* but considered it probable that the sandstone was wholly Paleozoic. Professor Fraas [6] of Stuttgart, who traveled in the Levant at about the same time, and whose work is also of great value, considered the sandstone, as well as the limestone, which in Lebanon immediately underlies it, as Cenomanien, i.e., about the middle of the Cretaceous series.

Before the publication of Lartet's work, a number of finds were made in the western part of the Sinaitic peninsula by English explorers and surveyors, which indicated the presence there of Carboniferous strata. First [7] a fragment of Lepidodendron, a characteristic tree of the coal measures, was brought to England by a traveler, to whom it had been given with the statement that it was from Sinai, but the place of finding could not be vouched for. Then Mr. Bauerman [8] reported the discovery in western Sinai of a thin layer of limestone in the midst of the Nubian sandstone. From the limestone, he collected some fossils which appeared to be Carboniferous crinoids, but which were not well enough preserved to be identified with certainty. Finally Wilson and Tate [9] of the Sinai Ordnance Survey brought from Wâdi Naṣb in western Sinai a block of limestone which contained a well-preserved specimen of Orthis michelini, a typical Carboniferous fossil.

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[6] *Aus dem Orient,* I Th. 1867, II Th. 1878.

[7] Salter, "On a True Coal Plant from Sinai," *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.,* Vol. XXIV, p. 509.

[8] "Note on a Geol. Expedition Made in Arabia Petræa in 1868," *Quar. Jour. Geol. Soc.,* Vol. XXV, p. 17.

[9] Tate, "On the Age of the Nubian Sandstone," *Quar. Jour. Geol. Soc.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 404.

In 1883-4, Professor Hull[10] of Dublin, in an expedition organized by the Palestine Exploration Fund, made further collections in Wâdi Naṣb, and collated the Wâdi Naṣb discoveries with observations made by himself and previous travelers in Sinai and about the Dead Sea. His conclusion is that the sandstone consists of two parts, an upper part which rests upon the Carboniferous limestone, and a lower part which is below the Carboniferous limestone and rests upon the crystalline rocks. To the upper, Hull would restrict the name of Nubian sandstone, while to the lower he gives the name of desert sandstone. It should be noted that, at Wâdi Naṣb, Hull finds the Carboniferous limestone to be conformable with the desert sandstone below and with the Nubian sandstone above. Near the southeast corner of the Dead Sea on the south side of Wâdi al-Ḥisa above al-Ghaur as-Sâfieh Professor Hull found limestone strata situated in the sandstone similarly to those of Wâdi Naṣb, but he was not able to collect determinable fossils.

Since the visit of Professor Hull, fossils have been collected in the limestone of Wâdi al-Ḥisa by the writer, by Dr. Blanckenhorn[11] and by a party of English oil geologists. The fossils have been determined as Cambrian. They are principally brachiopods of the genera, Siphonotreta and Micrometra, and trilobites of the genus, Anomocare.[12] They occur in the hard limestone originally described by Hull at Lebrusch (al-Abrash) on the south side of Sayl al-Garâḥi (Wâdi al-Ḥisa). The limestone formation is about one hundred and fifty feet thick, and lies under several

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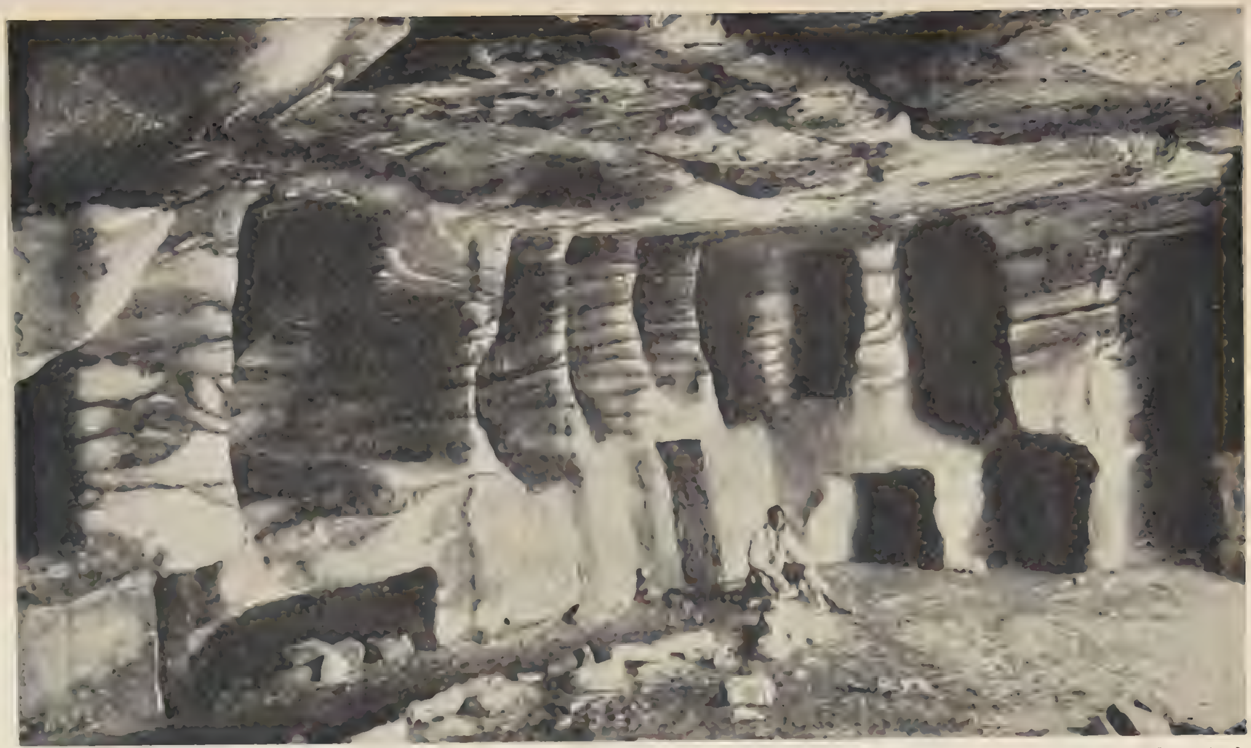
[10] "Geology and Geography of Arabia Petræa, Palestine, and Adjoining Districts," *Pal. Explor. Fund,* 1889.

[11] M. Blanckenhorn, *Zeitschrift der deutschen geologischen Gesellschaft,* LXII, 1910, pp. 410-13.

[12] W. B. R. King, *Geological Magazine,* LX, pp. 507-14, 1923.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Interior of a tomb in Lower Sîḳ, opposite the Theater thousand feet of sandstone. Under the limestone is more sandstone which rests upon a dark, coarse conglomerate composed of pebbles derived from the older crystalline rocks.

More recently Triassic strata have been discovered east of the north end of the Dead Sea between Wâdi 'Ayûn-Mûsa and Wâdi Zarḳa Mâ'in. These strata of limestone and marl are interpolated among the strata of the Nubian sandstone. They are thin and apparently not of great extent. The fossils include characteristic Triassic brachiopods and pelecypods.[13] A very interesting find was the humerus of a Triassic reptile, Nothosaurus.

A little farther to the north, at the mouth of Wâdi Zarḳa (Jabbok), has recently been discovered an outcrop of Jurassic strata.[14] Like the Triassic to the south, it seems to be a thin lenticular mass of no great extent. It is also intercalated between the strata of the Nubian sandstone. Previously no Jurassic strata had been recognized in Syria or Palestine south of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and Hermon.

The Nubian sandstone, as originally defined by Russegger, rests in eastern and upper Egypt on the crystalline Pre-Cambrian rocks. In Egypt, Sinai, Arabia and southern Palestine, it embraces the whole of the Palæozoic and the Mesozoic as far as the middle of the Cretaceous. In Lebanon, on the contrary, it is included wholly in the Lower Cretaceous. Everywhere it is conformably overlaid with fossiliferous Middle Cretaceous limestone. Its enormous time extent in the south can only be explained by the alternation of shallow water phases with prolonged periods of elevation above sea level. The perplexing feature is that no observer has as yet discovered the unconformities which such alternations would be expected to have produced.

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[13] Leslie R. Cox, "A Triassic Fauna from the Jordan Valley," *Annals and Mag. of Nat. Hist.,* Ser. 9, XIV, p. 52, July, 1924.

[14] Leslie R. Cox, "A Bajocian-Bathonian Outcrop in the Jordan Valley and Its Molluscan Remains," *Annals and Mag. of Nat. Hist.,* Ser. 9, XV, p. 169, Feb., 1925. Cf. also, in the same volume, Helen Muir Wood, p. 181.

The occurrence of sandstone both above and below the Carboniferous limestone at Wâdi Naṣb in Sinai does not justify Hull's use of the terms, Nubian sandstone and desert sandstone for the upper and lower divisions. It is likewise divided into upper and lower parts by the Cambrian at Wâdi al-Ḥisa, by the Triassic at Wâdi 'Ayûn Mûsa, and by the Jurassic at Wâdi Zarḳa. Each one of these four fossiliferous limestone formations represents merely a more or less prolonged transgression of the primitive Mediterranean Sea (Tethys of Suess). That is to say, each one of these fossiliferous limestones was produced by a local subsidence which permitted the waters of the sea to enter the area in question. It is true that we do not know the full extent of any one of these fossiliferous zones, but at Wâdi al-Ḥisa at the south end of the Dead Sea we certainly have a part of the sedimentary deposits of Cambrian time, at Wâdi Naṣb in western Sinai we have sediments of a portion of the extension of the sea in Carboniferous time, and at Wâdi 'Ayûn Mûsa and Wâdi Zarḳa we have fossils of the sea animals of the Triassic and Jurassic periods when the areas concerned were submerged. Russegger's name of Nubian Sandstone should of right be applied to the whole of the sandstone, whether it appears to be undivided, as at Petra, or whether it includes a local limestone formation, as in one of the four areas referred to above.

At Petra and wherever in Sinai, Edom, and Moab, the sandstone is fully or deeply exposed, an upper, light colored sandstone can be distinguished from a lower, dark colored portion. This distinction is well marked at Petra where the Khubtha consists of the light colored sandstone, while the sides of the amphitheater belong to the lower dark sandstone. Where the base of the latter is exposed, as in the valleys about Jabal Harûn, in the lower Sîḳ of Petra, and elsewhere, it is found to consist of a coarse conglomerate resting unconformably upon granites and porphyries, which are the same as those composing the mountains of Sinai. These crystalline rocks are regarded as Pre-Cambrian. They are found not only in Edom and Sinai, but also in Upper Egypt, and were probably parts of the continental mass whose rivers carried to the sea of that period the sands which compose the Nubian sandstone, as well as the muds which helped to make the Cambrian Carboniferous, Triassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous limestones and marls. As stated later in this paper, the Red Sea probably came into existence during the Tertiary as a continuation of the great depression of the Jordan, the Dead Sea and the ‘Arabah. Previously, the area of the Red Sea had been a part of the ancient southern continent, of which the Pre-Cambrian rocks of Sinai, Arabia and Egypt are vestiges. In Lebanon, the sandstone rests upon a limestone formation of great thickness whose base is nowhere exposed.

In 1886, Dr. Noetling [15] made a careful study at Majdal Shams on the southeast slope of Mt. Hermon of certain strata which are brought to the surface by a fault, and whose abundant ammonites and other fossils conclusively prove them to be Oxfordien (Jurassic). He also found there overlying the Oxfordien strata a bed of limestone a few yards in thickness, in which he found some of the fossils of the lower limestone of Lebanon. If this relatively thin bed of limestone represents, as would seem to be the case, the thousands of feet thick lower limestone of Lebanon, it shows the latter to be of a date later than the Oxfordien, and to be probably Corallien (a stage of the Jurassic later

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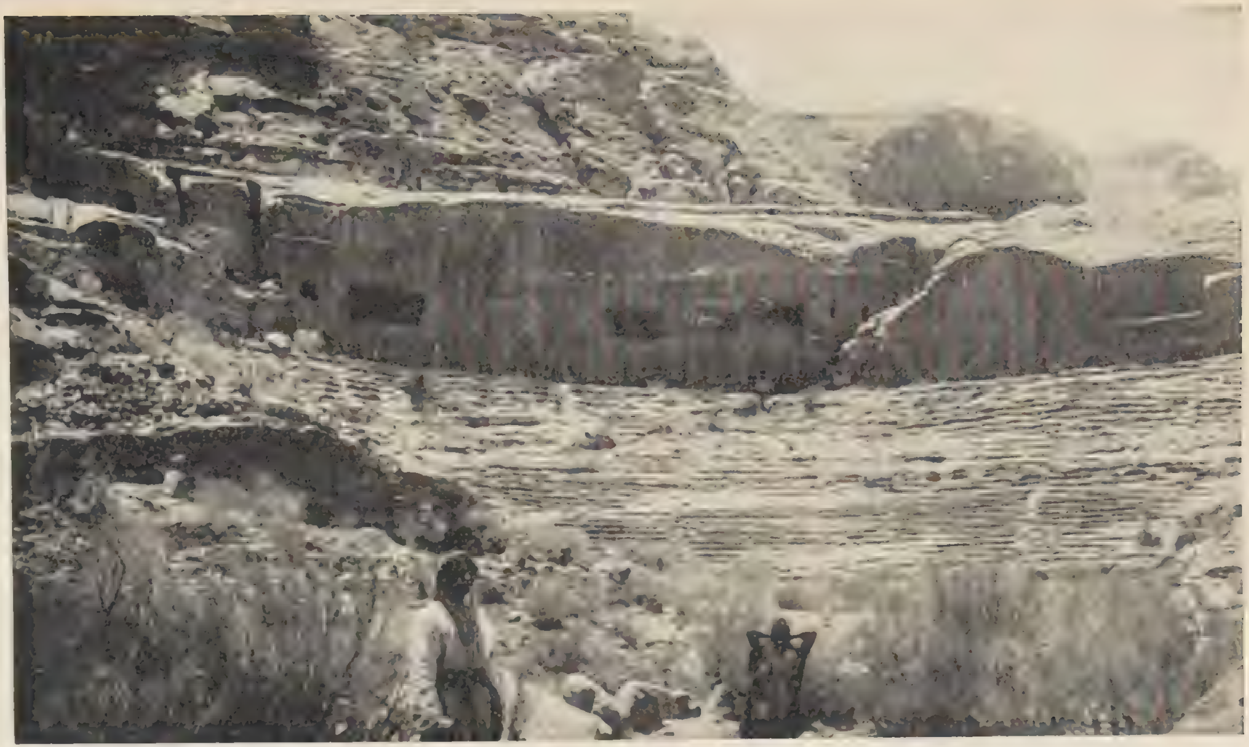
[15] *Der Jura am Hermon,* Stuttgart, 1887.



(See Chapter IX)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

The Theater

than the Oxfordien). The most critical, as well as the most recent, work dealing with the age of the lower limestone of Lebanon is that of Dr. Max Blanckenhorn,[16] who, from its fossils, considers it to be Jurassic. The fossils cited by Fraas for his determination of the lower limestone as Cenomanien can be found in the upper limestone, and are believed to have rolled down upon the lower limestone, where they are not found *in situ*. Having fixed the age of the lower limestone as Jurassic and of the upper limestone as Middle Cretaceous, we have thereby fixed the age of the sandstone of Lebanon which is included between them. Since the sandstone is conformably overlaid by the same strata both in Edom and Moab and Sinai and also in Lebanon, it follows that while in the south the lower portions of the sandstone may range back to the Pre-Cambrian, the upper part must be of the same age as that of Lebanon. Certain lower portions may correspond in age with the Oxfordien strata of Majdal Shams at the foot of Mt. Hermon, while others may be of the same age as the lower limestone of Lebanon. At Petra, the sandstone is fully two thousand feet in thickness, while in Lebanon it ranges from one hundred to five hundred feet. The greater thickness of the sandstone of Edom may result from its deposition extending over a longer period, and also, if we assume that the crystalline rocks of Sinai and Upper Egypt were parts of the continent from which these deposits were derived, may result from its nearness to that continent.

Much has been made, and justly, of the coloration of the sandstone at Petra, and it is perhaps nowhere else so strikingly variegated, although the same general color scheme characterizes the sandstone wherever it appears in the valleys of Edom and Moab, and to some degree also in Lebanon. Sandstone frequently contains laminæ which are oblique to the strata, and these may be detected in much of the Petra sandstone. The strata and the oblique laminæ are both well shown in one of the square pillars near the upper end of the Sîḳ. These oblique laminæ which were produced in the process of sedimentation are often however almost completely obscured by most remarkable and highly colored curved bands, such as are shown in a photograph taken on the descent from the Great High Place to the Garden Tomb. (See p. 279.) The sandstone consists mainly of quartz grains, colorless or nearly so, cemented together with various compounds of calcium, aluminum, and iron, and it is to the cement that the coloration is mainly due. As many of the most striking bands of color run with no regard to the stratification or lamination, they are probably produced by chemical changes connected with the percolation of water through the mass, subsequent to its deposition. Of several large pieces of rock brought from Petra for the museum of the American University of Beirût, one, on being smoothed, proved to be banded only near the surface, which, while disappointing, was at least an interesting indication of the point just made, that much of the coloration is due to processes subsequent to the formation of the rock.

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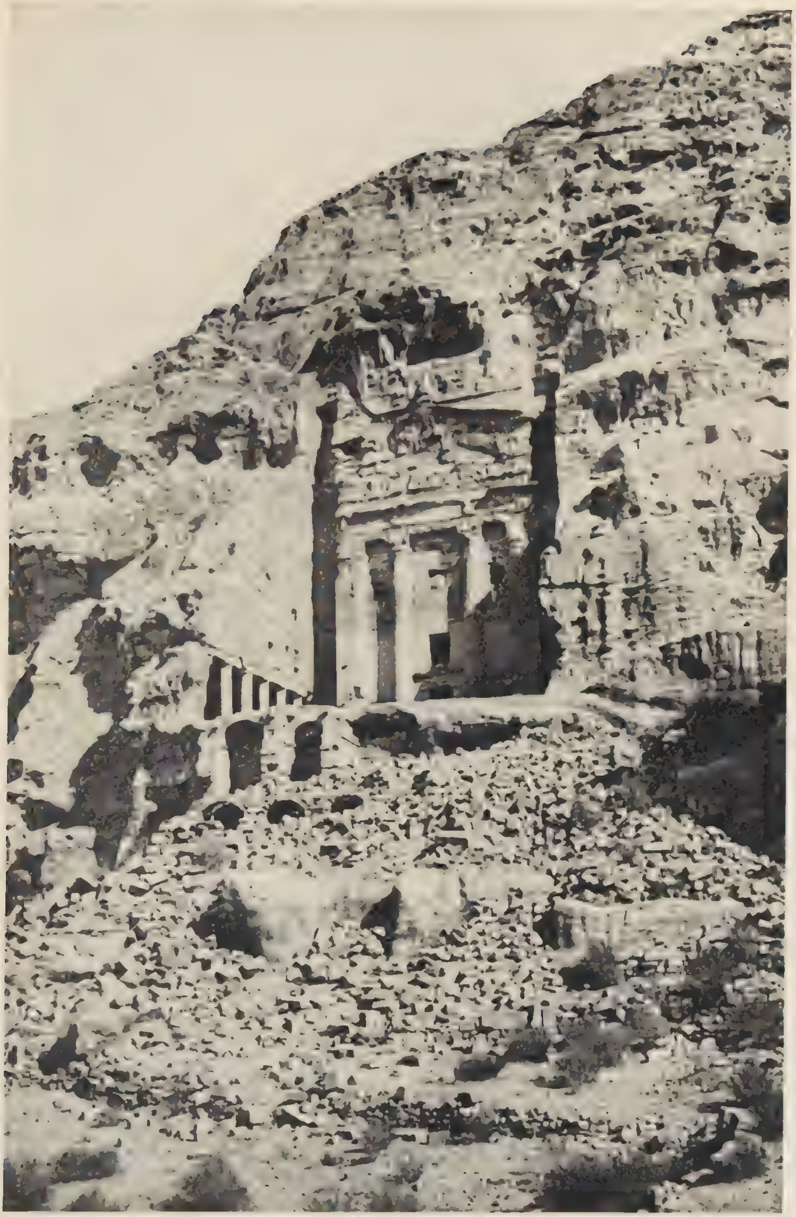
[16] *Beiträge zur Geologie Syriens*, 1890.

In Egypt, Sinai, Edom, Moab, Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon, the sandstone is conformably covered with a mantle of limestone of Middle Cretaceous age, as shown by its abundant fossils. Both Anderson and Libbey not only consider the sandstone to be more recent than this upper limestone, but they also agree in considering it to be placed unconformably in excavations of the limestone produced by erosion. These views are in contradiction to those of all the other authors, who agree that the sandstone and upper limestone are conformable and that the latter is the uppermost. This is clearly shown in various views and sections by Blanche,[17] Lartet, Hull, Diener,[18] and Libbey. Dr. Anderson was in one sense a pioneer, because he probably had not seen the works of Blanche, Botta, and Russegger, though it is hard to see how, in his journey through Lebanon and up and down Wâdi al-Kerak, the real relations of these strata should not have been clear to him. Professor Libbey, in his southward journey to Petra, kept too far to the east to see the best instances of the junction of the sandstone and upper limestone, and at Petra there are indeed points of view from which as he says, "the masses of sandstone . . . look . . . as if they had been plastered against the wall of the plateau." These fossiliferous strata are invariably found just above the junction of the sandstone and upper limestone, both at Petra and in the wâdies to the north leading down to the 'Arabah and the Dead Sea. If the sandstone were a "plug" filling a valley of erosion, its upper limit would not be constantly associated at greatly varying altitudes with a given fossiliferous stratum of the rock forming the side of the valley. We however not only find this association constant, but the junction occurs anywhere from one thousand to four thousand feet above sea level (e.g., near Petra 3520, Wâdi Bani Ḥammâd about one thousand). The varying altitudes of the junction of these fossiliferous strata with the upper limit of the sandstone are to be expected if the two series of strata were deposited conformably one after the other, and then shared in all subsequent crust movements. But if one of the two, after its deposition, was elevated, distorted, and eroded, and then received the second unconformably, we should never expect to find a given horizon of the one constantly associated with a given horizon of the other.

[17] "Coupe transversale de la vallée du Damour dans le Liban," *Bull. Soc. Géol. de France,* 2 Me sér., t. V, 1847, pp. 12-17. (Copied in Blanck, *Beiträge Geol. Syr.,* p. 31).

[18] *Libanon,* Wien, 1886.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Famous Tomb with Urn, in northeast wall of city

The Cretaceous limestone which overlies the Nubian sandstone is the most widely spread of all the geological formations in Arabia, Sinai, eastern and western Palestine, and Syria. From the Jabbok to Petra, the Nubian sandstone appears on the steep slopes of the eastern side of the Ghor. After climbing these slopes, one finds himself on the edge of a vast plateau which slopes away gently toward the east. For a few miles cultivation is possible, but the scanty rainfall becomes less and less, and soon the plateau becomes the Arabian Desert. This plateau is formed of the Cretaceous limestone, the gentle slope of whose strata determines the surface of the ground.

In western Palestine the same limestone forms a great anticline, or ridge, rising to its greatest height along the line of Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Nablûs. The eastern slope is very abrupt and the limestone sinks to the level of the Ghor without revealing the Nubian sandstone which is doubtless beneath it. No formation older than the Cretaceous limestone comes to the surface in western Palestine.

The Jordan Valley-Dead Sea depression is one of the most stupendous on the earth's surface. Sometime after the close of the Cretaceous period, while the lands of Palestine and Syria were being gradually lifted up from the bed of the sea, a series of approximately north and south fissures were developed. Great faults, namely differential vertical movements, took place along the lines of these fissures, resulting in the sinking of long slices of the earth's crust. These depressions formed the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, and are continued northward through the Sea of Tiberias, the upper Jordan, the plain of Coele-Syria (al-Biḳâʻ) and the valley of the Orontes as far as Antioch. The same depression continues southward through the ʻArabah and the Gulf of ʻAḳabah, and probably throughout the length of the Red Sea. According to Suess, the African rift valley, as far south as Lake Nyassa south of the equator, is a part of the same line of faulting. We have seen that west of the Dead Sea the earth's crust was thrown into a great ridge sloping downward east and west from a north and south line passing through Jerusalem. East of the Dead Sea, on the other hand, the mass of Moab and Edom was lifted bodily without being folded. The magnitude of the fault is realized when we consider that the Cretaceous limestone of western Palestine dipping under the waters of the Dead Sea is about a mile lower than the same limestone at Mount Nebo, Mâdaba and Kerak.

Since the slope of the plateau of Moab and Edom is to the east, and since the rainfall is scanty and becomes scantier the farther east we go, the valleys which flow from the plateau westward to the Jordan, the Dead Sea and the 'Arabah are all short and abrupt. To the east of the heads of these valleys, the plain is not cut up by watercourses and offers an easy passage for the old pilgrim road and the more modern Damascus-Madînah railway.

It is also owing to the fact that the mass of Moab and Edom was lifted bodily without folding that the Nubian sandstone makes its appearance on the steep western slopes, together with the included Cambrian, Triassic and Jurassic sediments.

The erosion produced by the waters which rush down to the Jordan and the Dead Sea and the 'Arabah has left isolated between the watercourses various prominences which appear as mountains viewed from the Ghor, but which, when viewed from the east, are seen to rise but little above the level of the plateau. Such is Mount Nebo, which is easy of approach from Mâdaba, but offers a commanding view to the west, north and south.

An orderly review of the geological formations of these countries may be given as follows, from below upward:

(1) Pre-Cambrian crystalline rocks, found only south of the latitude of the Dead Sea.

(2) Nubian sandstone, resting unconformably on (1).
  Interpolated at various stratigraphical levels between the strata of the Nubian sandstone:
    (a) Cambrian limestone at Wâdi al-Ḥisa.
    (b) Carboniferous limestone at Wâdi Naṣb.
    (c) Triassic limestone at Wâdi ‘Ayûn Mûsa.
    (d) Jurassic limestone at Wâdi Zarḳa.
    (e) The massive Jurassic limestone of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon and Hermon underlies the only sandstone known in those regions. The base of this Jurassic limestone is exposed only at Majdal Shams, on the southeast slope of Mount Hermon, where it is found to rest upon fossiliferous shales of Jurassic age.

(3) Middle Cretaceous fossiliferous limestones everywhere rest conformably on the Nubian limestone.

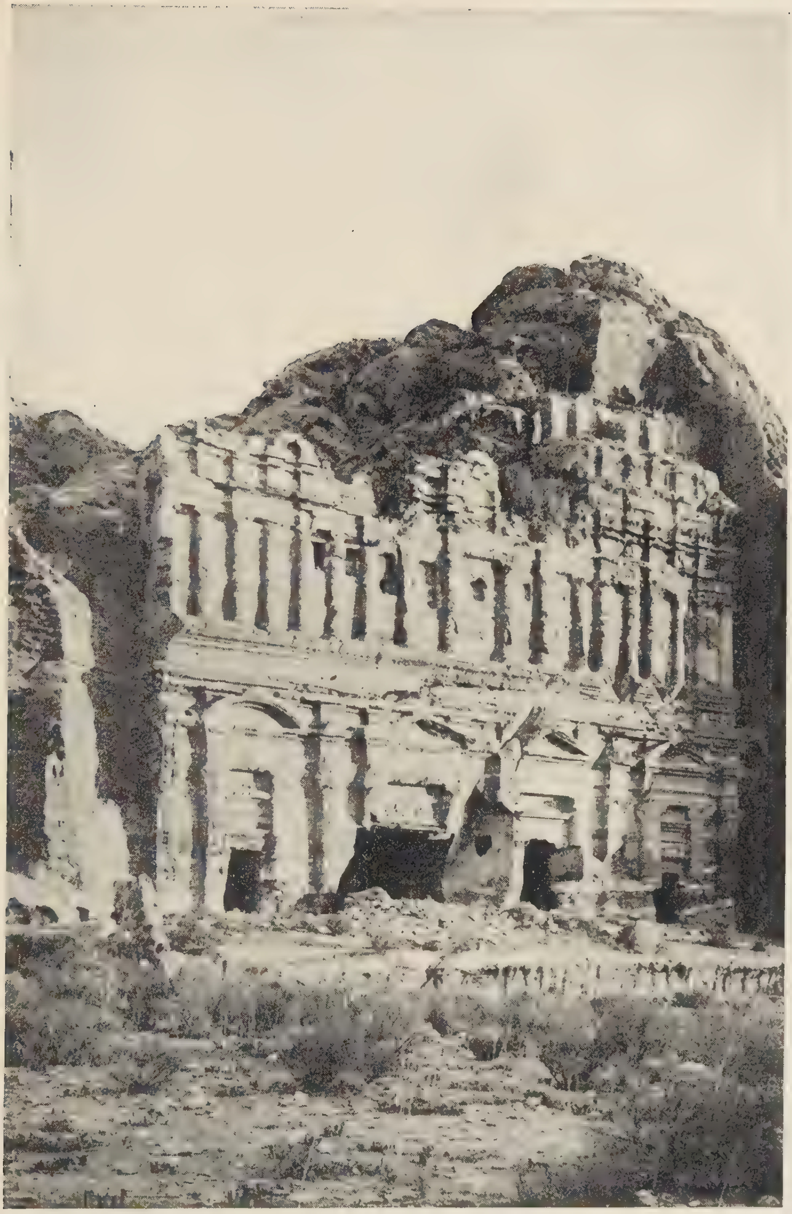
(4) Upper Cretaceous limestones succeed (3) over wide areas of Egypt, Arabia, Sinai, Palestine and Syria, and form the summits of the mountains, except Hermon and a part of Lebanon, where the sandstone and Middle and Upper Cretaceous limestone have been removed, and the Jurassic limestone forms the tops.

(5) Eocene nummulitic limestone east of the Anti-Lebanon, in Coele-Syria, locally in southern Lebanon, and widely in Sinai and Egypt.

(6) Marine Miocene limestone on the Mediterranean coast of Lebanon at the mouths of the larger rivers.

(7) Pliocene locally in raised benches and lacustrine deposits.

(8) Pleistocene in dune sands, river bottoms. and cave deposits of human origin.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Three-Storied Tomb in northeast wall of city

XVI

THE BOTANY OF EDOM AND MOAB

By Dr. George E. Post, American University, Beirût

In so much of the literature of Europe are the valley of the Jordan and the transjordanic regions spoken of as a desert, that many persons conceive of them as barren wastes, with oases of fertile ground around the springs, or along the river banks. In point of fact, however, a large portion of these districts is fertile, much of it well adapted to the growth of grain, and, where irrigated, suitable for the cultivation of a great variety of fruit and vegetables. The term "desert" is applicable to only a few waterless tracts, or rugged mountains, or salty plains. Were any proof of the general fertility of Edom and Moab required, it would be found in the teeming population of former times, evidenced by Biblical and profane history, and by the numerous monuments found everywhere. It is further witnessed to by the rich and varied indigenous flora.

This flora is the product of the diversified conditions of soil, altitude, exposure, and meteorology which characterize our district.

The prevailing winds of southern Palestine, as well as of the rest of the Levant, are westerly and southwesterly. The latter are laden with moisture from the Mediterranean. On reaching the hill country of Judea and the Tîḥ, much of the moisture is precipitated. Of what remains, after passing over the dry and torrid 'Arabah, and the Dead Sea, a considerable portion is precipitated on the highlands of

Edom and Moab, and the air, deprived of most of its vapor, passes eastward, over the table-land of northern Arabia, where the rainfall is very small.

The western edge of the plateau of Edom and Moab rolls up into a crest, from four thousand to five thousand feet above the Mediterranean. This crest was once heavily wooded with oaks, terebinths, and, especially on its western aspect, with junipers. In a recent journey northward from Petra, as soon as we had cleared the valley, we came into a rolling parklike country, studded with treelets of hawthorn, or bratalgus Agarolus. Crossing a promontory of the table-land, we entered a grove of oaks, and, a little farther on, a region of mushroom-shaped terebinths, with dense semispherical tops, on very thick trunks. Under a tree such as one of these, Absalom probably rode, and was caught by his long hair in the stiff branches, jerked from his mule, and left hanging, a prey to the vengeance of Joab (2 Sam. 18:9-15).[1]

Notwithstanding these remnants of the ancient forests, the table-land is now mostly denuded of its trees, and the soil, once lodged on its surface and in its fissures, has been washed away on the side exposed to the drive of the winter storms, and, by its steep incline, subject to the erosive power of water. From these causes result the stupendous chasms of the wâdies, especially those of the Wâdies Mûsa, Tafîla, al-Ḥasi, Kerak, al-Mojib and Tarka Mâ'in. The great diversity of surface, exposure to the sun, moisture and altitude of the restricted area of Edom and Moab, account for the variety and number of the species found there. In the torrid 'Arabah, on the hot sand and gravel outside the torrent beds, grow those plants which, from their structure, can live with little moisture, or have the power of collecting and retaining it from the atmosphere by succulent stems and fat leaves.

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[1] Dr. Post follows here, consciously or unconsciously, Josephus (*Antiq.* VI, 10, 1) rather than the Hebrew, Septuagint, or Vulgate texts of Scripture, all of which agree that Absalom's "head" (rather than his hair) was caught in an oak. G. A. Smith in his *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land* (p. 580) makes the same mistake.

In the shallow torrent beds of the ‘Arabah the sand and gravel retain a large amount of moisture, which supports, among others, a great variety of species, tamarisks, acacias, and apples of Sodom.

Where a brook or river such as those in the Wâdies Mûsa, al-Ḥasi, Numairah, Kerak, al-Mojib, and Tarka Mâ‘in, flows into the ‘Arabah, its banks are fringed with willows, oleanders, canes, tamarisks, sedges, rushes, and many grasses and flowering plants. Where the waters of such streams are diverted by irrigation canals, the fertility of the soil, under the tropical sun of the Ghor, produces surprising harvests. No doubt many tropical fruits might be cultivated in this torrid region. The wild plants are affiliated with those of southern Arabia, central Africa, and India.

On the rocky walls, and in the secluded glens of the great ravines a large number of shrubs and perennial herbs, and not a few annual plants, find foothold and sustenance.

Eastward of the crest of the plateau, the vegetation changes to that of the table-lands of the interior.

There are some plants which are found at nearly all altitudes, and in the most varied situations throughout our district. Terebinths flourish at the summit of Mt. Hor, and in the deep ravines a thousand feet below the Mediterranean surface. The officinal squill is a characteristic plant of the ruins on the plateau, and likewise flourishes in the ravines of Petra. Asphodels are common in the Jordan valley, about the Dead Sea, and thence upward to the table-lands and again along the Mediterranean coast.

Many of the plants of our region are highly special-

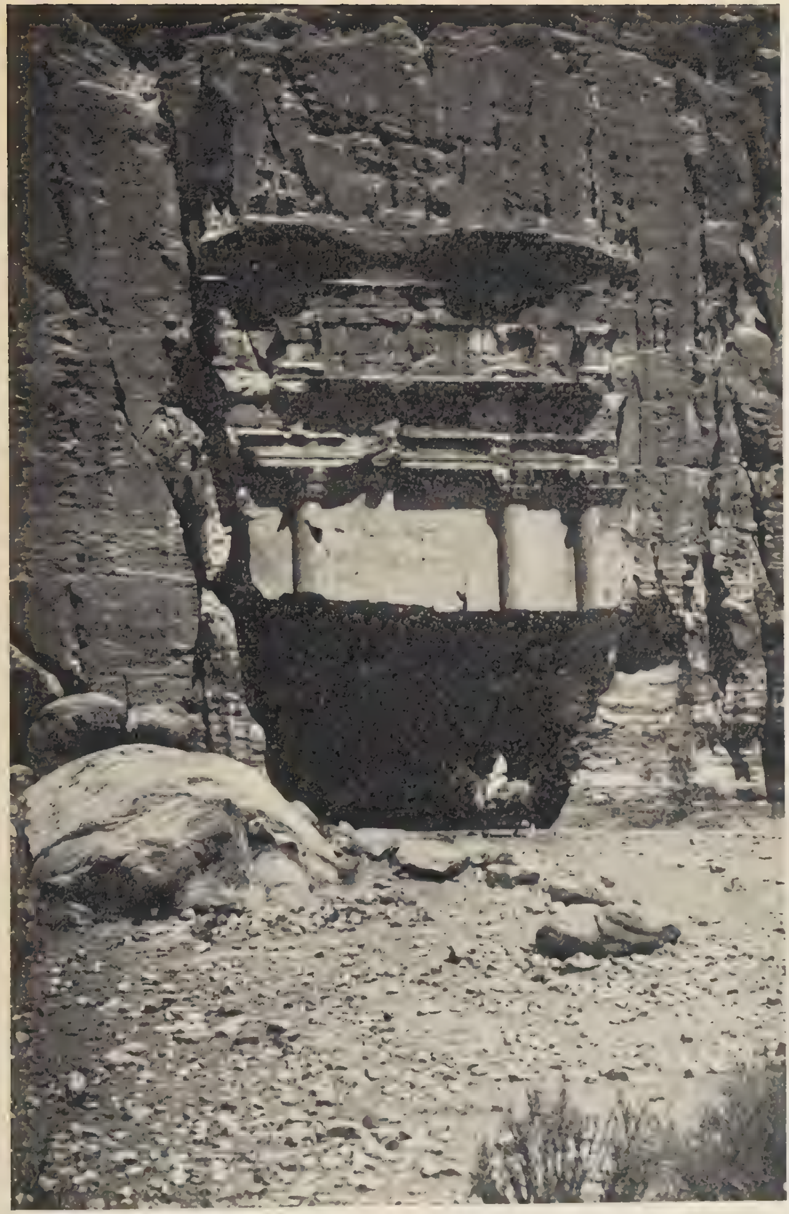
(See Chapter IX)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

General view of mountains about Petra, showing Ḳasr Firʻaûn in the center ized, and found only in restricted areas, where circumstances are exactly adapted to their life. Thus Juniperus Phœnicia grows only on the western face of the mountains of Edom and Moab. I never saw a tree of it east of the crest of the plateau. It does not grow on the mountains of the Judean wilderness, nor in the Tîḥ, nor Sinai. Oleanders always indicate water, either flowing in the wâdies, or soaking through the soil at their roots. Canes grow only beside or over water. Maidenhair ferns grow only in caves or clefts, where there is more or less dripping water. Oaks grow on rocky hillsides, sending their roots deep into the crevices, and often rending the cliffs, and dislocating the stones of castles and tombs. Although there are few places where grasses grow in large masses, there are numerous species growing in tufts and clumps, often in fissures of the rocks, from which the roots are with difficulty extracted. Large numbers of the plants are furnished with thorns and prickles. Many of them are aromatic. Few are poisonous, as is proved by the fact that most are eagerly cropped by camels, goats, sheep and asses. Quite a number are parasitic, as the broom rapes (Orobanchaceæ) and mistletoes. Many, even of the desert species, have beautiful flowers. The oleanders in August have a wealth of rose-colored blossoms and glossy green foliage which give them a place of honor in the wild-flower gardens of the world.

Undoubtedly the most favorable time to observe and admire the flora of this region is the spring. During a visit to Moab and Ammon and Ḥauran in the spring of 1886, I collected and observed within two weeks over eight hundred plants. My visit to Edom and southern Moab was in August. Yet even at this dry season there was a large number of attractive plants. In Petra, for example, the site of the ancient city was covered with shrubs of the Biblical juniper or Retana raetam Forsk., the white broom, not then in flower. The leafless stems and branches of this bush explain well the chagrin of Elijah (1 Kings 19:4) when he found under one of this sort a poor shade for his weary head. We can well imagine the penury of those who cut up the roots of this shrub for food (Job 30:4). And we can readily believe that its light stems would furnish a quickly burning and very hot coal (Ps. 120:4). Among the stems were green bushes of Thymelæ hinkita L., contrasting by its fleshy leaves and dense tops with the naked leafless branches of the broom. All along the stream were the brilliant flowers of the oleander in their setting of lance-shaped foliage. Overtopping these were tamarisks, with gnarled trunks and branches, and light spray, the over-ripe fruit hanging in cottony catskins. From the clefts of the rocks, overshadowing the doors and windows of the tombs, were clumps of buckthorn, with their small glossy green leaves, and fruit the size of currants. On every pinnacle of the cliffs, and overhanging the ravines, were somber trees of Juniperus Phœnicia L., and Pistacia Terebinthus L., the terebinth, or arabice buṭm. In a stroll of an hour up the Sîḳ, I collected over twenty species of flowering plants. They could have been quadrupled in April. In one of the ruined castles was a thicket of dried stalks of a Ferula, some of them an inch in diameter at the base, and eight feet high. A little way down Wâdi Mûsa, by the drinking fountain, is a large plantation of aloes, whether indigenous or escaped from cultivation I am not sure. The aloe is extensively planted about tombs in the East, and may easily have escaped from the neighborhood of any of the numerous mortuary caverns which line all the ravines. I have not elsewhere found it wild. In a dell, halfway up to the Dair, I found, in a little pool into which water dripped from the rock above, an abundance of duck weed, or Lemna minor L. From the dripping rocks above the pool hung festoons of maidenhair, or Adiantum Capillus-veneris L. Below the fountain was a cane brake of the "reeds shaken by the wind," or Arundo Donax L., and in places bogs of rushes and sedges. At the cutting leading to the tunnel were long straggling lianas of asparagas acutifolius L., and Ephedra camylopoda C. A. Mey. Here and there, from fissures in the rocks or the ruins, sprang wild figs, with bitter, uneatable fruits. On the open places was an undergrowth of thorny prickly star thistles or Centaureas, Garlihas, Echinops, Eryngium glomeratum Lam., Ononis antiquorum, and numerous others. Once in a while one met with a tuft of wiry grass. Everywhere in the ravines were shrubs of Daphne lineafolia Hart, a species first found by Hart, the Irish botanist, at Petra. I afterwards traced it northward on the crest of the plateau, as far as Tafîla. I did not meet with it farther northward. It is almost the only plant with sweet smelling flowers in that district, at that season. Its odor resembles that of the tuberose. Its flowers are inconspicuous, and its leaves narrow. Its fruit is crimson when ripe. It may be considered the most characteristic plant of Petra, which is the center of its limited geographical area. It does not dip deeply into the gorges opening into the 'Arabah.

The plateau of Edom and Moab, so rich in plants in the spring, is almost bare in August. Ononis vaginalis Vahl, Peganum harmala L., a few widely disseminated Centaureas, and other prickly Compositæ, make up all that one finds in a day's journey. Far otherwise is it in the deep gorges and broad plains which open out into the 'Arabah and Dead Sea. Here is an abundant midsummer flora, of great variety and interest. The prevalent orders represented are the Chenopodiaceæ, Zygophyllaceæ, Compositæ, and Leguminosæ. Among the plants of special interest is Moringa aptera Gaertn., the sole representative of its order of



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Tomb with Nabatean inscription, in Wâdi Turkmanîya

Moringeæ, with hanging pods, eight or ten inches long, and wingless seeds. Moringa pterygocorpa, with winged seeds, a plant of Abyssinia, is its nearest congener. Clotropisprocera Willd., is supposed to be the "apples of Sodom." It is a gigantic asclepiad, with large, ovate leaves, purplish flowers, and fruits as large as a Jaffa orange, which, where dry, and broken open, diffuse an ashy dust, supposed by people in Josephus' time to be a reminiscence of the ashes of Sodom. Balanites ægyptiaca Del. is a small tree, with leathery, green, elliptical leaves, and a fruit resembling an olive. The monks at Jericho extract from the fruit a pasty substance, which they sell to travelers as "balm of Gilead." Solanum coagulans Forsk. is a perennial, low shrub, with showy, purple flowers, nearly an inch broad, and yellow fruit, an inch or more in diameter. Acacia tortilis Hayne is the "shittim" of Scripture. It is a tree with a hemispherical comus, but, as the trunk is usually cut by the Arabs near the root, branches spring up in an umbelliferous form, and the comus becomes flat, umbrella-shaped, or mushroom like. It is excessively thorny, and produces racemes of small flowers, and pods contorted in a scorpiod form. Its wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, that of the heart being dark brown, and the sap wood bright yellow. Zizyphus Spina-Christi, the so-called "Christ thorn," is jujube, with thorny branches and edible fruits, as large as a blackberry. There is no probability that it was used for the "crown of thorns." It grew too far away from Jerusalem to be available, while all around the city are numerous species, which would have supplied the desired material.

Of shrubs and herbs characteristic of this region there is such a number and variety that they cannot be dwelt upon in this sketch.

In the course of the journey through Edom and Moab in August, 1907, our road led us along the edge of the plateau, and dipped necessarily into the great chasms before alluded to. We thus repeatedly studied the flora, as the geology of the region, in cross sections, from four thousand to sixty-five hundred feet deep. In an hour or two we would pass from the plateau, over its subalpine crest, into the temperate, the subtropical, the torrid zones, reaching, at the level of the Dead Sea, 1292 feet below the surface of the Mediterranean, a climate like that of southern Arabia and India. Then we reversed the order, climbing again from the tropics to the subalpine crest, and debouching on the breezy upland. Such an experience was a continual feast to a botanist. It may be safely said that nowhere else on the face of the globe can such a comprehensive idea of the distribution of plants as influenced by soil, temperature, moisture, dryness, exposure and altitude, be obtained in so brief a time, and in so thorough and fascinating a manner. It is a botanical garden, planted by the hand of God, and open to all who would study His thoughts and methods in creation and preservation.

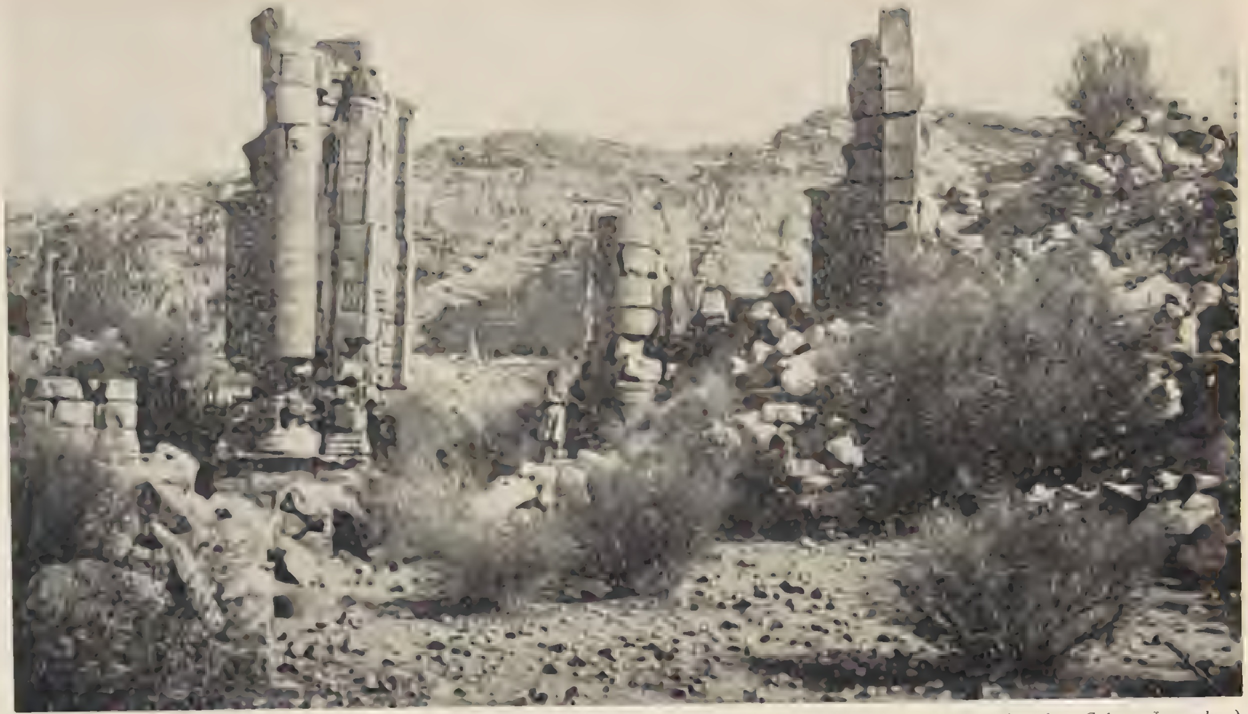
XVII

BOZRAH

One of the most striking Messianic passages of the Old Testament is that contained in Isaiah 63:1, in which the prophet inquires, "Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozrah?" It is a dramatic ejaculation concerning the coming of a blood-stained Warrior, who is pictured by the author as coming from Edom, mighty to save; of One, indeed, who has trodden the wine press alone, and whose garments are consequently bespattered with the blood of his enemies, over whom he has won a complete victory. The story is one of divine vengeance and victory. For, inasmuch as no mere human champion could rescue Israel, Jehovah had armed himself and saved his people.

The scene of this divine tragedy is laid in Bozrah, the most important city of ancient Edom and presumably the ancient capital of the land.[1] In any case, it was a city of great antiquity, for it is spoken of as the home of King Jobab, the son of Zerah (Gen. 36:33; 1 Chron. 1:44). Being the most important fortress of all Edom, its humiliation meant the humiliation of the Edomites, and its fate carried with it the downfall of the whole country. Three of Israel's prophets imply as much in their oracles. For example, Amos predicts that a "fire shall devour the palaces of Bozrah" (1:12); Isaiah, that "Jehovah hath a sacrifice in Bozrah and a great slaughter in the land of Edom" (34:6); and Jeremiah, that "Bozrah shall become an astonishment, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes" (49:13). Indeed, they

[1] The name Bozrah means "fortress," or "fortification."



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Triple Gate in Wâdi Mûsa

imply, the feast of the sword shall be so abundant that even the dust of the earth will be soaked with blood!

Bozrah, we know, was situated among the mountains, in the district of Jabâl. It is commonly identified with a little squalid modern village known as al-Busaira, which is located some eighteen miles southeast of the south end of the Dead Sea, and seven miles south from Tafîla. The Arabic name Busaira is a diminutive, meaning, "Little Bozrah," intended probably to distinguish this insignificant modern town from the larger and more famous Bozrah in Ḥauran.[2] Eusebius and Jerome locate it among the mountains of Idumæa.[3] Wetzstein identified it with Petra; Buhl [4] and Doughty [5] on the contrary, rightly assume that al-Busaira is the true site of the ancient city. The reference in Jeremiah 48:24 to a Bozrah in Moab is probably a designation of Bezer, which was a city of refuge for the Reubenites (Josh. 20:8). Isaiah's allusion to "dyed garments" (63:1), and Micah's, to "the sheep of Bozrah" (2:12) may hint of the city's chief industries in ancient times; but there are no more "dyeing" industries at Bozrah. All dyed goods used come from Damascus. The region is full of sheep, however. Doughty records that he saw the greatest sheep flocks between Shaubak and Petra (only a few miles south of Bozrah) he had ever seen among the Arabs.[6]

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[2] Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 1882, p. 407), thinks, "It was probably the ancient *Psora*, a bishopric of *Palæstina tertia*" (cf. Reland, *Palæstina*, i, p. 218). E. Robinson, however, has shown that this conjecture of Burckhardt "rests on an error in one of the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, which reads 'Mamo, Psora' in two words, where all the others read Mamopsora or Mamapson." Dr. Robinson prefers rather to explain the Arabic form *Busaira* (which is a diminutive of *Busra*) as intended to distinguish this Bozrah from another Bozrah in Edom, which for a time was the capital of the country (*Biblical Researches*, ii, p. 167).

[3] *Onomastica sacra* (Lagarde edition), 1887, sections 232, 58, and 102, 18.

[4] *Geschichte der Edomiter*, 1893, p. 37.

[5] *Arabia Deserta*, 1888, i, pp. 31, 38.

[6] *Ibid.*, i, p. 39.

Bozrah is located on a long ridge, running east and west, about a mile west of the main road between Petra and Kerak. Deep wâdies bound it on almost all sides; the deepest is Wâdi Busaira on the north. It is joined by another almost as deep and impassable on the south. The view from the ridge, on which the village lies, in the direction of the ʻArabah and the Dead Sea, is magnificent. Such mountain scenery is rare! The city was thus well fortified by nature. No better site for an ancient capital could well be imagined.

All along on the top of the ridge are scattered ruins of former greatness. Of course many of the stones useful for rebuilding have long since been appropriated by succeeding generations. Though unimportant, compared with many other ruins even in Edom, they are a witness to the fact that the city once occupied a much larger area and possessed a much larger population than it now enjoys. Not more than forty or fifty families, probably, reside there to-day.[7] The most outstanding ruins are those of an ancient castle on the southeast side of the town, which may have been rebuilt and used by the Crusaders—probably was. They certainly availed themselves of the heights and fortifications of Shaubak and other places. Broken columns and pedestals lie about among the Bozrah ruins. There is a circular well, about eight feet in diameter, a little to the northwest of it. Down over the brow of the hill, northeast from the village huts, there lies a sunken, yet half exposed, millstone, huge and rough, but ready for use. It is about six feet in diameter, and is probably used by the people to crush olives or grind wheat. We saw, also, a large oil press; there were no wine presses, for, the inhabitants, being Moslems, do not drink wine. Not far from the center of the village ridge, we also looked down into a bottle-shaped cistern fifteen feet deep.

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[7] Shaikh ʻAîd of Busaira, however, claimed there were at least one hundred and sixty families living in the village now.

The near-by environs of the village are attractive, in spite of its isolation. There are terraces on the sides of all the wâdies, many of them being covered with vines and orchards of figs and olives. Farther off from the village are cultivated fields of grain and other cereals. Oaks and ash trees are numerous landmarks upon the horizon. We spent a Sabbath at Bozrah in 1914, walking in every possible direction, and enjoying the scenery of the deep ‘Arabah below. There are graves near the town, which are quite covered over with small stones, and rags tucked in between them, recording the people's vows. The nearest fountain to the village, however, is a full mile away. Filth and squalor are conspicuous on every side. For, Bozrah to-day is a miserable little village with a miserable population. The people are exceptionally illiterate, fanatical and surly. They know wretchedness and misery as few other peoples, even Arabs, do. They are all fallaḥîn whose physical, mental and spiritual condition is abject. In 1907, when we were there, they had no school, no church, no mosque, no sanctuary, no shrine, except that of a Wili near the castle on the southeast side of the town. The people lived in dugouts, and caves, among the ruins of former generations. There was but one stone hut, or hole that could possibly be called a store. It was a general grocery, drug store, blacksmith shop, fruit shop, all in one! From it we purchased barley for our animals. The village had neither educational nor religious privileges. On our subsequent visit in 1914, however, we learned that for one year at least they had had a school and a teacher. The men wear long hair: the women go unveiled.[8] When we inquired of a certain native of

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[8] Burckhardt records that "the women of Busaira were the first whom I saw wearing the burḳa‘, or Egyptian veil, over their faces" (*Travels*, 1822, p. 407).

(*See Chapter IX*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Zubb Fir'aûn, the only standing column in Petra

Bozrah why the women didn't veil their faces, he replied, "Why should they? God made them!" This was an encouraging response. Nevertheless, their village is a living example of desolation and death. We paused at a door, or rather, at the entrance to a dark hole, burrowed amid the ruins and used as a dwelling place, and asked the women sitting on the ground for a drink of water. One of them shrieked, "Keep out! Cholera!" and pointing to her husband, lying on the ground near-by her among the stones and bowlders, said, "He has just died!" and, "There lies my son, dying!" The situation was indeed tragic! We could do nothing, however. From their point of view all was ordained of Allah! Of all the places in Palestine, Syria, and the Desert, which I have ever visited Bozrah is the most miserable, wretched, and abject. We took our departure from Busaira with a heavy heart!

On our first visit to Bozrah in 1907 we camped at 'Ain Jâlidi, which is located a little over an hour's walking distance southeast of Busaira. Upon leaving we determined to descend, if possible, into the 'Arabah by the most direct way. Neither Wâdi Busaira nor Wâdi Ghuweir is really passable for loaded animals. Accordingly, we were advised to take a road midway between the villages of Dhâna and Busaira down through Wâdi Dhalal. The way was comparatively good. Three and a half hours after leaving 'Ain Jâlidi, we came out upon the crest of a long ridge between Wâdi Shalal and Wâdi Busaira which for a long distance was wonderfully smooth and exceptionally inviting; "almost like a macadamized road," as we recorded at the time, in our Journal. We passed on this ridge the ruins of an old castle, and became more and more impressed by the smoothness and scenery of the route. Going on, we descended by a zigzag road over a rocky promontory, and, after another hour and a half, had reached the bottom of the wâdi on a level almost with that of the floor of the 'Arabah at that point. We had descended in altitude from 'Ain Jâlidi some thirty-three hundred feet.

At 'Ain Ḥasb we discovered that the Arabs are wont to call the way by which we had come *Darb as-Sulṭân,* or "the King's Highway." We immediately reflected on the reference to such a highway in Numbers 20:17. Not every modern *Darb as-Sulṭân,* however, is to be regarded as a "King's Highway," or of Biblical interest! It brought us out at a point not far south of 'Ain Ḥasb, which is one of the principal springs in the 'Arabah, and near 'Ain al-Weibeh, which is only a short distance to the south. Whatever may be said of this route as the possible way by which the messengers sent by Moses to ask permission of the king of Edom to cross his territory (Num. 20:14-16) this much is true, it is the only immediate and passable road between Bozrah and the 'Arabah. If, therefore, 'Ain Ḳadees is to be regarded as ancient Kadesh-barnea, and if Jabal Maderah is to be identified as Mosera, or Mt. Hor (Deut. 10:6) and if al-Busaira is the ancient Bozrah of Scripture, and the capital of the king of Edom in Moses' time, then this *Darb as-Sulṭân,* by which we traveled, was probably "the King's Highway" of Numbers 20:17.

XVIII

KADESH-BARNEA

One of the most important places associated with Edom and the Edomites during Israel's wanderings in the Wilderness was Kadesh-barnea, which, in Numbers 20:16, is described as "a city in the uttermost of Edom's border." [1] No other spot in all the desert, except Mt. Sinai, is so important. Here Israel halted to send forth spies into Canaan (Deut. 1:19ff.). Here some of them proposed to appoint a new captain and return to Egypt (Num. 14:4). Here Israel abode many days (Deut. 1:46); quite probably making it their central place of rendezvous during the thirty-eight years, or more, of their desert wanderings. Here Korah and his company rebelled and were punished (Num. 16:1ff.). Here Aaron's rod budded in token of the preeminence of the Levites (Num. 17:1ff.).[2] Here Miriam died (Num. 20:1). Here Moses smote the rock twice, when he ought merely to have spoken to it (Num. 20:2-13). To Kadesh-barnea Israel twice came and encamped; arriving, first, in the second year of the Exodus, about the fifth month (Num. 13:20; 10:11), and returning in the first month of the fortieth year of their wanderings (Num. 20:1; 33:36, 38; cf. Deut. 2:7, 14). And, from Kadesh-barnea ambassadors were sent by Moses to the king of

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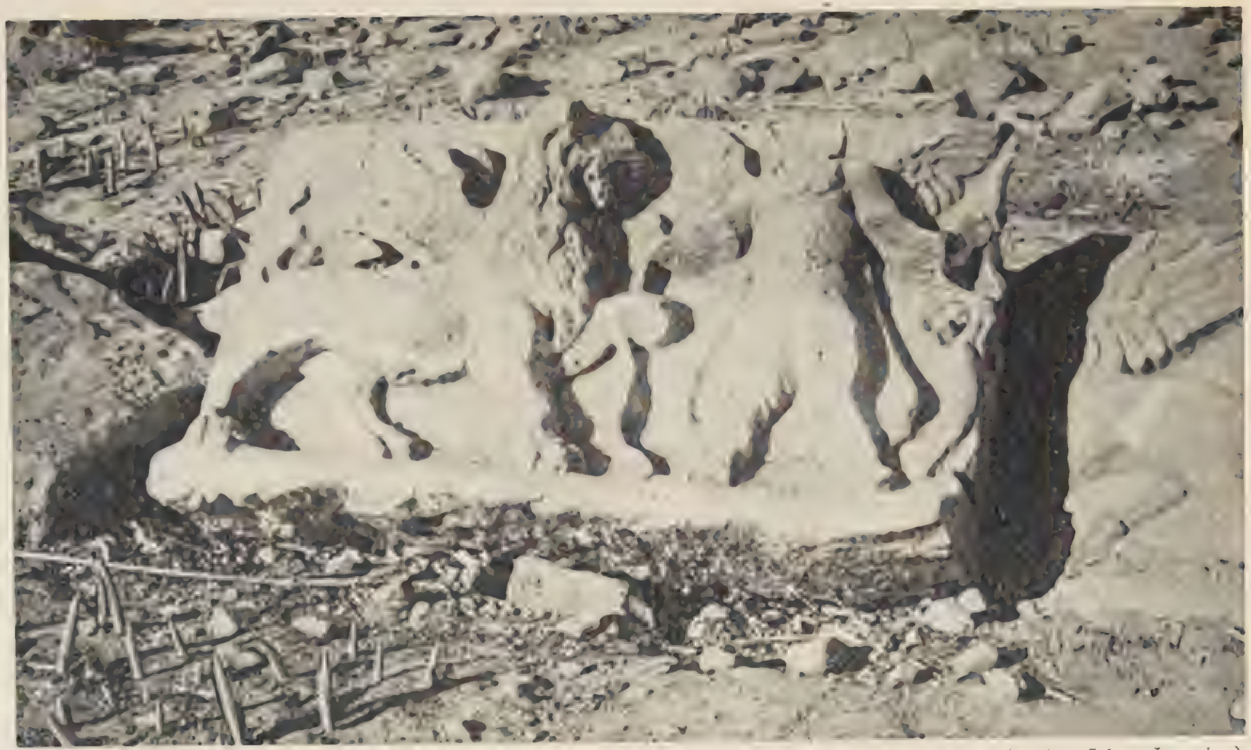
[1] That is, on the southern border and within the territory of Judah (Num. 34:4); for, as we have tried to show in Chapter XIV, the territory of Edom extended far west of the 'Arabah (cf. Buhl, *Die Geschichte der Edomiter*, pp. 22-26; Gray, *Numbers*, p. 266).

[2] E. Meyer would make Kadesh-barnea the home of the Levites who traced their ancestry to Moses (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, pp. 62ff.).



(See Chapter IX)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Carved stone, in *Wâdi Mûsa*, below the Theater

Edom to ask permission to pass through his territory (Num. 20:14, 16, 22; Judg. 11:16, 17).

Evidently, therefore, Kadesh-barnea was an important center, and must have been somewhere on the remote side of Edom from the territory to which they finally decided to journey, namely, the East of the Jordan. But the exact identification of it is the problem. Edward Robinson would identify it with ‘Ain al-Weibeh, which is situated deep down in the ‘Arabah;[3] but this fountain is located too far to the east to have been the rallying point of Israel on their desert march. Stanley identified it with Petra;[4] which is quite impossible. Ellis, more recently, ventures to identify it with ‘Ain al-Ḳuderat.[5] It is pretty generally agreed, however, that Kadesh-barnea is best identified with ‘Ain Ḳadees, the "Holy Fountain" of the Arabs. This is the opinion of Rowlands, Ritter, Schultz, Palmer, Trumbull, Guthe, and many others.

The first hint we have in modern times of the Arabic name ‘Ain Ḳadees was given by Seetzen, who in the spring of 1807 made a trip southward from Hebron, visiting ‘Ain al-Ḳuderat, Wâdi al-‘Ain, and a "flat dry Wâdi," which was called by the Arabs Wâdi al-Ḳadees.[6] In 1842, Reverend John Rowlands, at that time a resident of Gaza, secured two shaikhs of the Terabin Arabs, and, in company with a Mr. Johns, who was for a time British vice-consul at Jerusalem, succeeded in discovering ‘Ain Ḳadees; he being the first to suggest the identification of the two names Ḳadees and Kadesh, though he applied the name wrongly to ‘Ain al-Ḳuderat.[7] In 1870, Professor E. H. Palmer claims to have rediscovered 'Ain Ḳadees; he describes it as consisting of three springs, or rather shallow pools, called by the Arabs *themail,* one of them overflowing in the rainy season, and producing a stream of water.[8] He questions Rowlands' description of it, asserting that in his judgment, Rowlands "seems not to have visited this spot at all." N. Schmidt, in turn, claims that Palmer's "map and itinerary show that he [Palmer] never saw 'Ain Ḳadees"; and that when he speaks of his discovery of 'Ain Ḳadees, he can only mean by it that he heard where it was; and that his description of it as consisting of three springs or pools, which the Arabs call *themail,* is incorrect, and, especially, his statement that it is situated in latitude 31° 34′ N. and longitude 40° 31′ E., would locate it in Arabia Deserta, halfway over to the Persian Gulf.[9]

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[3] *Biblical Researches,* 1838, ii, pp. 173-177.

[4] *Sinai and Palestine,* 1890, pp. 92-98.

[5] *Bible Lands To-day,* 1927, pp. 313-316.

[6] *Reisen,* iii, pp. 47ff.

[7] In a letter to his friend and former desert companion, Canon Williams, which the latter published in his volume *The Holy City,* i, 1845, p. 464.

Holland, who made a trip to 'Ain Ḳadees in 1878, was evidently a more careful and conscientious explorer, as his own description, and that epitomized by his friend Sir Charles Wilson, would indicate.[10]

Trumbull's rediscovery of 'Ain Ḳadees in 1881 is very unfortunately presented in language which, to say the least, is somewhat rhetorical![11] He speaks of it as "a marvelous sight," and as "an oasis of verdure and beauty"; adding that "a carpet of grass covered the ground"; and that "running water gurgled under the waving grass," which was "remarkably pure and sweet"; and he expatiates also on "the delicious repose of the spot," and how "there was a New England look to this oasis," especially in the flowers and grass and weeds; and how "bees were humming and birds were flitting from tree to tree."

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[8] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 282.

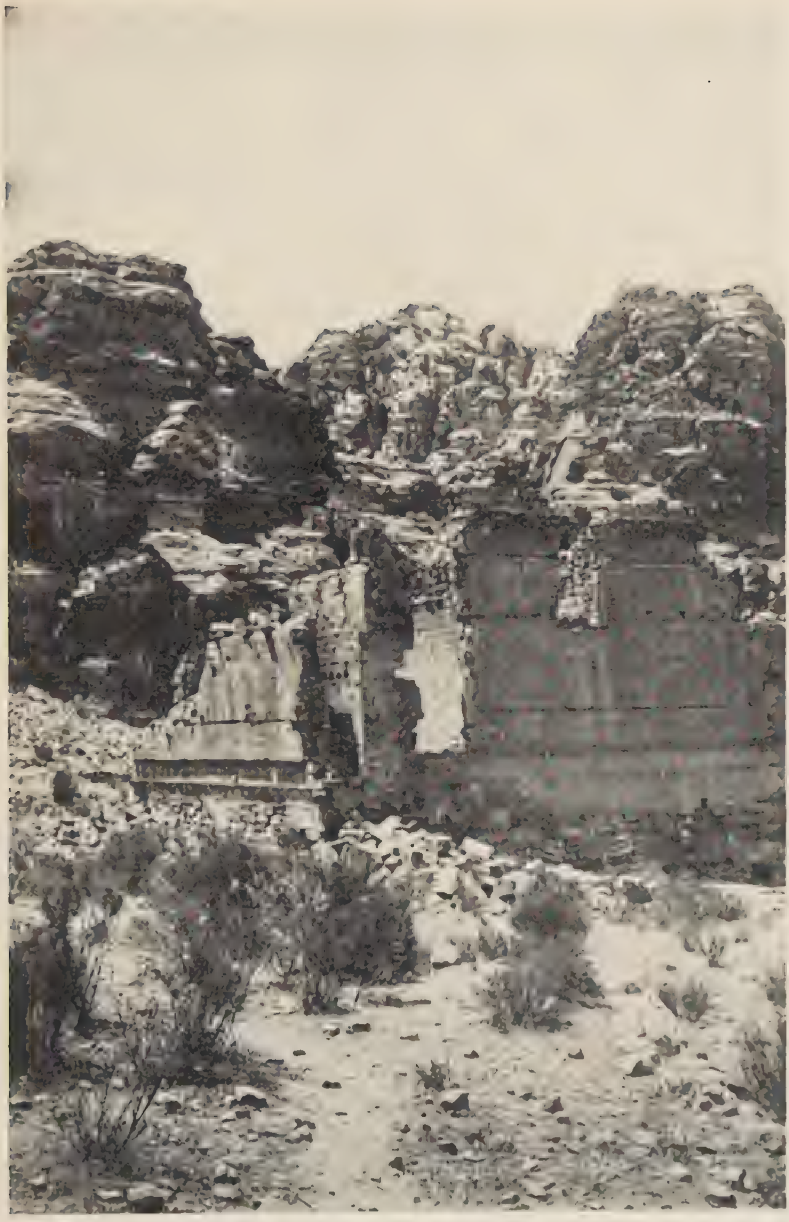
[9] Art., "Kadesh-Barnea," *Jour. Bibl. Lit.,* 1910, pp. 68-69.

[10] *Quarterly Statement* of the Pal. Exp. Fund, 1879, p. 69; and *idem.,* 1884, p. 9.

[11] *Kadesh-Barnea,* 1884, p. 272ff.

Trumbull's somewhat imaginative and exaggerated description of 'Ain Ḳadees finds a corresponding counterpart, however, in that by Ellis of 'Ain al-Ḳuderat, who, with even more lavish hyperbole, writes of it as follows:

> This spring is the most copious in central Sinai; and is an unfailing supply in all seasons of drought. . . . A city once guarded the gates of the spring. At the opening of Wâdi Ḳuderat we found impressive and exhaustive ruins. Near these is a wide plain, suitable for the encampment of a great host. Surprise upon surprise awaited us as we went up the Wâdi, which was from one eighth to one half mile wide at different points, and was covered with grass and shrubbery. Here was more grass than I had ever seen in any one spot in all Sinai, or Palestine, either. The fertility of the place was almost incredible, considering its location. Feathery tamarisk trees were abundant. I counted ten beautiful, thorny, fern-leaved acacia, or shittim trees, any one of which was large enough to furnish boards for the Ark of the Covenant. The discontented Israelites could grow here the leeks and onions for which they lusted. Plenty of pasturage for animals abounded; and we saw both goats and camels feeding. This is far and away the most habitable spot in all Sinai. Through the center of this meadow glen ran a singing stream, sometimes tarrying in pools, and occasionally tumbling in cascades. The brook had two sources; the larger was seen to flow directly from the rock—the only rock-spring in this part of the peninsula. Is this Meribah, the water of murmuring, brought from the dry rock by the rod of Moses? . . . That we had come upon the true Kadesh-barnea, missed for ages by Christian scholars and explorers, seems proved; if further proof than the abundance of water and richness of the valley were necessary, by the presence of the city ruins, and by the name of the



(*See Chapter IX*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Ḳasr Firʿaûn, from the east

> valley which persists to this day—Darb as-Sulṭân, "the king's highway" of the Bible. At 'Ain al-Ḳuderat, the veritable Karesh-barnea, meet the great ancient roads of Sinai. . . . All the conditions and considerations of Kadesh-barnea are met by the fertile valley of 'Ain al-Ḳuderat, with its wonderful waters!

This account by Mr. Ellis would be beautiful, if true; but, like Trumbull's of 'Ain Ḳadees, it is highly colored, and largely fanciful. Both descriptions are those of newspaper men, who usually avail themselves, consciously or unconsciously, of poetic liberty. It is, in fact, one of the great temptations of all explorers, travelers and missionaries alike, to indulge in extravagancies about places and things seldom, or never, seen by others.

Both fountains are important. Nathaniel Schmidt, who, with his students, A. T. Olmstead, J. E. Wrench, and B. B. Charles, and John Whiting of the American Colony in Jerusalem, visited 'Ain al-Ḳuderat and 'Ain Ḳadees in May, 1905, reports, that "it is not as easy as it has seemed to those influenced by Trumbull's descriptions of the modern name to decide whether 'Ain Ḳadees is more likely to have been Kadesh-barnea than 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. . . . Aside from the water, there is nothing very impressive about 'Ain Ḳadees. . . . 'Ain al-Ḳuderat is the fountain *par excellence* in this region; it is al-'Ain. And it is not impossible that the stream flowing down Wâdi al-'Ain was once called Me Meribath Kadesh."[12]

According to our "Journal," both these fountains greatly impressed us. We excerpt the following from our "field notes." "It was Easter, April 13, 1900. The morning was clear and cool. We approach 'Ain Ḳadees by Wâdi Ḳadees, having camped the preceding night upon the Plain. The latter is not entirely destitute of grass and grain. Here and there portions are under cultivation; the barley is green, headed out, and stout. As we near the mouth of the Wâdi, acres of bowlders cover the broad surface. An immense volume of water, accordingly, must issue from this valley from time to time. The mouth of the Wâdi seems to be about a half mile broad. Foxtail-grass and *retem* bushes cover the bottom. Our ascent is gradual. There are heaps upon heaps of bowlders in the bed of the torrent valley. It is an uninviting valley to ascend, but the paths are good. The mountains on the left are of good height; but the foothills on the right are low, dividing the Wâdi of Kadesh from the Plain of Kadesh. Behind us in the distance stands out Jabal Ḥalâl conspicuous on the western horizon. The Wâdi narrows. After twenty-two minutes camel-riding from its mouth, its width is not more than one hundred and twenty-five yards. It is well clothed with fading grass, a kind of foxtail. We pass great washouts, or *jorfs,* at different intervals. Many little gray birds flit about. A tomb stands on our right; there are others less pretentious near. The Wâdi makes a bend to the southeast. We descend into another deep *jorf.* About ten fig trees are passed on our right; they are growing under a ledge of rocks. Close by, the last traces of a living stream are being absorbed by the thirsty soil. Farther on, we see what must be the fountain. Men and boys are busy filling their waterskins. Their donkeys are grazing not far away. Turning a corner in the Wâdi, we cross over the stream, and are at 'Ain Ḳadees. Whole time up the Wâdi from the plain, thirty minutes." [13]

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[12] *Journal Bibl. Literature,* 1910, p. 71.

Our description of the fountain itself, as recorded in our "notes" of 1900, is as follows:

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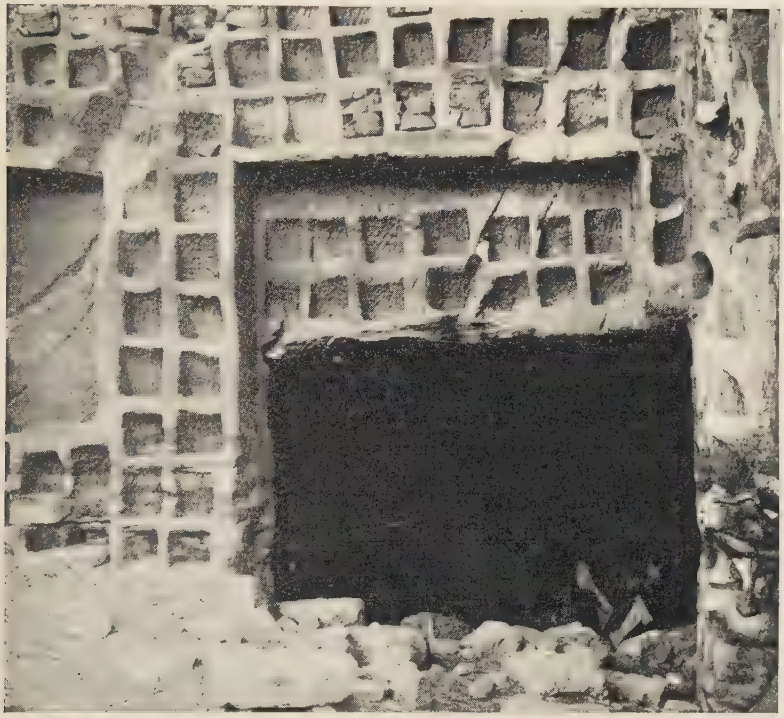
[13] According to Holland, there is another good approach to 'Ain Ḳadees from the southeast between Jabal Magrah and Jabal Jerâfi (*Quarterly Statement,* 1884, pp. 5, 10). On our second visit, we approached it from the northeast. The fountain, evidently, must have been an important center.

The springs of ‘Ain Ḳadees are on the north side of the stream. Large bowlders lie about. We walk first to the extreme eastern end of the watered portion of the Wâdi, and attempt to locate the rock Meribah. Near a great bowlder is a dry well, whose diameter is about ten feet at the top, and four at the bottom; and approximately six feet deep, with steps leading down. Manure lay deep about, showing conclusively that it must ordinarily contain water, used, of course, by the Arabs in watering their flocks. The three ancient, primitive looking watering troughs near by point in the same direction. About one hundred and fifty feet northwest of this well is another ‘Ain, or pool, walled about, with water in it; its depth being some five feet. A stone trough, not of "marble" (as Trumbull describes it) but of white limestone lay near it; and considerable grass was growing in the immediate neighborhood. A third pool is to be found some twenty-five feet below the second, with good, sweet-tasting water in the bottom of it. Near by are two especially large bowlders. Immediately below in the Wâdi bed, Arabs were filling their water skins from a flowing gurgling fountain stream. The volume of water issuing from this spring was copious, being enough to fill a three-inch pipe. At various other points in the near vicinity water was bubbling forth and shallow pools had been dug by the Arabs in which it might collect. There was still one other important well, or pool, irregular and shallow, but fully six feet in diameter, discharging an overflowing stream which would easily fill a three-inch pipe; this stream flowed directly into the main stream of the Wâdi, the depth of which at this point for some distance was on the average fully one foot. But, before reaching the fig trees, mentioned above, which were some two hundred yards below, the water was almost completely lost in the sand, being absorbed in the soft bed of the valley. The soil for some distance around all these springs seemed to be full of water, which, with the help of the manure deposits, produces an abundant growth of grass. Our opinion is, that if all these percolating waters were collected in a single pool or fountain, the volume of water would be abundant. But, alas! the *vis inertiæ* of the Arabs renders such a prospect impossible. The name ‘Ain Ḳadees, being singular, shows that they regard the fountainhead as one.



(See Chapter IX) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Columbaria on east façade of al-Ḥabîs

These impressions recorded on our first visit in 1900 were confirmed on our second, May 26, 1907. This time we approached this great popular rendezvous of the desert from the northeast, having come from Jabal Maderah via al-'Abdeh, having descended into Wâdi Ḳadees about one mile and a half to the east of the 'Ain, and followed the stony bed of the valley down to the fountain itself. We pitched our tent opposite the chief spring, on the south side of the Wâdi, and carefully reviewed the water resources of the site. Our Journal records, that "we find little to correct, or even to modify in our description of Kadesh-barnea as published in the *Biblical World,* May, 1901." There were many more Arabs about, however, than we had seen on our previous visit. The *'Osha* and fig trees were still flourishing as in 1900. It was evident that since then, heavy torrents had poured down in such volumes, that gravel embankments had been partially washed away, creating new *jorfs* and piling up bowlders in new localities. The water supply seemed less plentiful than it was seven years before. This fact, however, was easily accounted for, because of the general dearth of the desert in 1907. On the other hand, in one of the pools, which in 1900 was quite empty, there was a large quantity of good water present. Altogether we counted twelve different places where the water was bursting forth from the ground, and was either collected into pools, or was allowed to flow down into the main stream in the bottom of the valley.

Toward midday numerous shepherds came from different directions leading their flocks of sheep and goats and camels. Many of them had come considerable distance to give their animals drink. When they espied our tent they brought us lambs to purchase. It was interesting to note that the Arabic word which they used for "lamb" was not the usual *kharûf,* or *ghânam,* but *ḥamalûn*, as found in John 1:29, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." This was for us a very unusual use of this word in common Arabic!

We also visited 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. I excerpt again from my "field notes" of 1900 the following:

> Leaving 'Ain Ḳadees and turning north from the point where Wâdi Ḳadees opens upon the Plain, we ascended the hills which separate 'Ain Ḳadees from 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. The distance between these springs, in a straight line, is scarcely five miles.[14] From the top of these hills an extensive view is obtained of the whole Plain of Kadesh. It is an extensive Plain. The road by which we are traveling is rough; the hills are all but barren; there are many stones, and much drifting sand. Jabal Ḥalâl stands out prominently to the west of us as we journey north. The ascent becomes steep and hot. We are in a narrow wâdi. The view from the topmost crest of the hill is grand! We now descend through another narrow, steep and stony valley a long way, but eventually come to a broad wâdi, with terraces covered with daisies and grass, *retem* bushes and tobacco. Arab tents are visible in the distance before us, looking northwest. The wind is cool and refreshing. Turning northward, we see old ruins in a valley called Wâdi al-'Ain. Presently an Arab, the so-called "Guardian of the Fountain," appears, accosts us, looks unfriendly, and advises us calmly but forcibly to pass on, saying, "You may pass right over that mountain there; it is not at all necessary that you visit our Spring!" Our guide is troubled. He dismounts from his camel and dissembles, drawing from his pocket a paper, and showing it to the Guardian of the Fountain, he pretends it is a *firman,* or permit, from the Sultan of Turkey giving us permission to visit

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[14] The time required by us in 1907, camel-riding, from Ḳadees to Ḳuderat was "two hours and fifty minutes."

> his fountain. We are allowed to proceed on our way. The Wâdi is well-covered with grass; indeed, the best seen in all the Peninsula of Sinai. Acacia trees, *tarfa* shrubs, and green grain grow in the valley. In twenty-five minutes we are at our goal—the fountain itself. The water of the 'Ain, though not a very copious stream, issues from a rock in the south side of the valley.[15] We are beginning to photograph the surroundings, when, suddenly, behind us come four or five exasperated Arabs, who demand in great excitement that we quit the place. They curse us as "European dogs," and throw stones and dust at us. One aims his flint-lock gun in our direction; but our dragoman, seizing the barrel of the gun in his hand, bids the Arab "Take care!" We were considerably perturbed by their barbaric actions. They, on their part, were greatly incensed because we had seen their spring without having first given them money for the privilege; they coveted *backshîsh!*

The volume of water issuing from the fountain was great. The Arabs called it al-'Ain, "the Fountain"; but it is also known to them as 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. The surroundings are anything but attractive. We returned by the same way we came, adding in our "Notes," "It is *not Kadesh-barnea,* in any case."

The general location of these two Springs, 'Ain Ḳadees and 'Ain al-Ḳuderat, is about fifty miles south of Beersheba, and some three or four miles west of the watershed of the great 'Azâzimah plateau. The dry uplands of the Negeb, or "South Country," lie between them on the south and Beersheba on the north. Jabal Ḥalâl which is an outstanding landmark on the west rises some thirty miles away. There are four days' camel riding from Petra to them, west by northwest.

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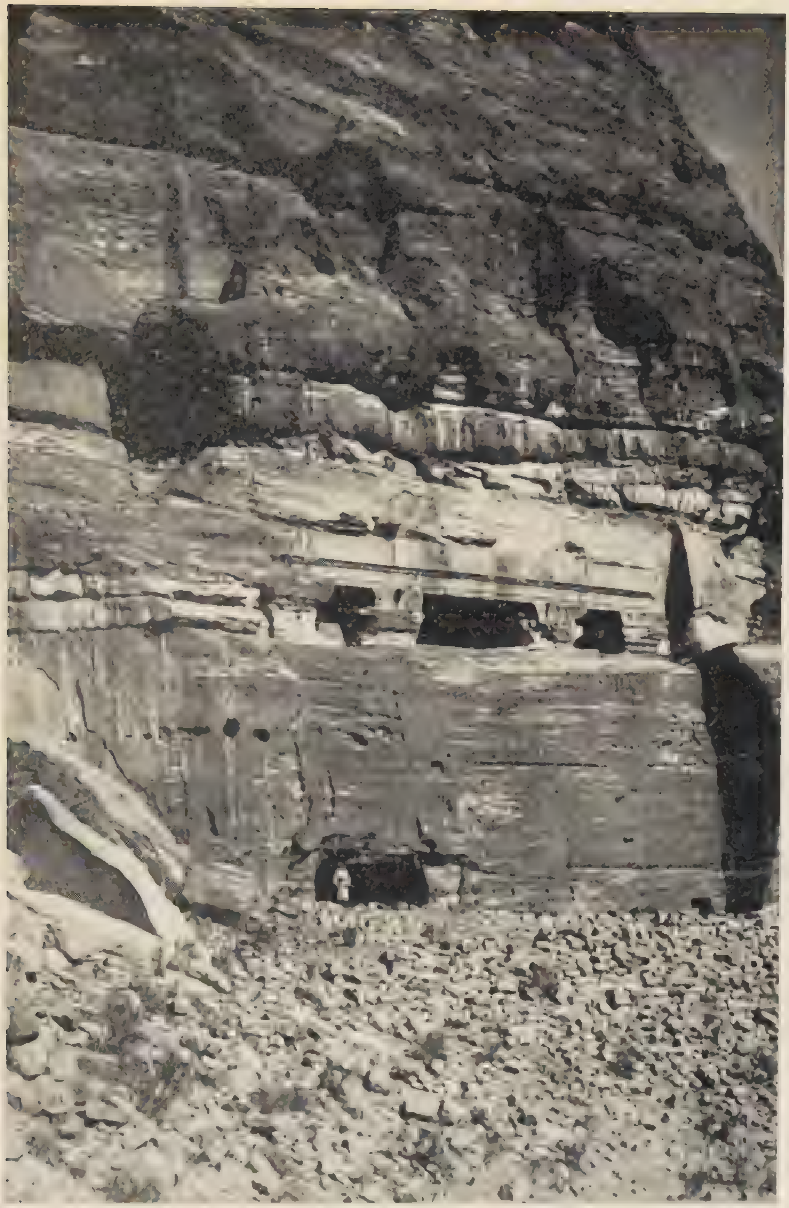
[15] A copious stream, also, issued "out of the ground," according to our observation in 1907.



(See Chapter IX) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Unfinished tomb on the east side of al-Ḥabîs

Such a location differs little from the Biblical data concerning Kadesh-barnea. It is said to have been eleven days caravan traveling from Horeb, by the Mount Seir road (Deut. 1:2), and on the frontier of Edom (Num. 20:16), not far from the southern borders of Canaan (Num. 34:4), nor far distant from Mt. Hor, which is best identified with Jabal Maderah, or Mosera (Num. 20:22; Deut. 10:6). Indeed, the agreement between the Biblical statements concerning Kadesh-barnea on the one hand, and the general location of these Springs on the other, is quite convincing.[16]

Which of the two fountains, however, is more probably the true Kadesh-barnea of Scripture is a minor question. But, if a choice must be made, the traditional name 'Ain Ḳadees would naturally point toward the fountain first described, rather than to 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. The quantity of water issuing respectively from the two springs is approximately the same. Both together were insufficient for Israel's needs. Both were probably repeatedly visited by Israel's famishing hosts. There is no objection to thinking that one was known as Kadesh and the other as Meribah. As Schmidt observes, "If the stream in Wâdi al-'Ain was called The Waters of Meribath Kadesh, the town near the fountain may have been called either Kadesh; or, with the name of the devotee added, Kadesh-barnea. But this town itself may not have been older than the Greek period. Before that time it is possible that En-mishpat (Gen. 14:7) was an important camping-place for the nomads living in tents, and that this 'fountain of judgment' (as the name implies) was the present 'Ain Ḳadees. It may also have been associated with the celebrated Kadesh of the district."[17]

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[16] C. Leonard Woolley, in his Report of the Survey by the Palestine Exploration Fund, says, "On every account Ḳadees and its neighborhood appears to us to be the Kadesh-barnea of Exodus." Cf. his article, "The Desert of the Wanderings," *Quarterly Statement,* 1914, p. 66.

[17] *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1910, p. 74.

There is no real necessity to suppose that Meribath Kadesh was identical with Kadesh-barnea: only that it was in the same general region (Num. 20:1-13).

Trumbull never visited 'Ain al-Ḳuderat. Ellis essayed to visit 'Ain Ḳadees, but the Wâdi was impassable for his motor, and his examination of the place was confessedly done in haste![18] Edward Robinson saw only 'Ain al-Weibeh, and therefore, identified Kadesh-barnea with the fountain which he saw. Stanley naturally associated Kadesh-barnea with Petra and 'Ain Mûsa near-by. All such conclusions, however, based as they are on partial and fragmentary evidence, are inconclusive. Schmidt would solve the Biblical enigma by supposing that different traditions prevailed at different times in Israel as to its location.[19]

[18] *Bible Lands To-day,* 1927, pp. 310, 311.
[19] *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1910, p. 76.

XIX

JABAL NABI HARÛN—MT. HOR(?)

Among all the mountain heights which encircle the Necropolis of Petra, no other stands out quite so conspicuously on the horizon as Jabal Nabi Harûn.[1] It rises to an altitude of 4430 feet above sea level, as determined by triangulation,[2] and is distant some three miles, west, from the city itself. Local Mohammedan tradition identifies it as the Mt. Hor of Scripture, on which Aaron, the Great High Priest of Israel, died and was buried (Num. 20:22-29). Josephus, indeed, long before the rise of Islam, designated this, or some other mountain near Petra, as the scene of Aaron's death.[3]

To reach the summit of this mountain from Petra, one must go southwards from the center of the city up Wâdi Thughra, and westwards through Wâdi as-Sutah to the base of the peak itself; from which point on, to the top, the path becomes progressively steeper and narrower, and more difficult. Palmer approached it from the 'Arabah, through Naḳb ar-Ruba'i,[4] Miss Martineau descended from the top by a way down on the northeast side, called by her "the Calvary Path of Devotees," which was very precipitous.[5] Horses may be ridden up to a broad plateau immediately below the promontory on which the tomb is perched. At this point, one's attention is attracted by a large black caldron,

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[1] Or, as the Arabs sometimes call it, Jabal Saidna Harûn (cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, p. 38).

[2] So Kennedy, *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, 1925, Index Map, p. 18.

[3] *Antiq.*, IV, 4, 7.

[4] *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1872, p. 364.

[5] *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, 1848, pp. 337f.

(See Chapter XIX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Near view of Jabal Nabi Harûn

which Moslem pilgrims use for boiling the sacrifices which they offer to "the prophet Aaron"! Junipers and other shrubs grow here and there in the neighborhood.

To ascend the steep gully which leads up from this plateau by rock-cut steps to the top of the mountain, one must walk. The climb, however, being not more than half an hour, is not extremely fatiguing. On the way, about halfway up, one comes suddenly upon a large cistern,[6] situated almost under his feet, roofed over with fifteen Roman arches, and still capable of holding water. Its walls are covered with cement. A further climb of fifteen minutes brings the weary footman to the top; the whole area of which is practically covered by the little Mosque which adorns it. The building measures 37½ feet from north to south, and 32½ from east to west, and is a simple Mohammedan Wili, or shrine. Obviously it has been erected out of the ruins of some earlier and more pretentious building. The stones are partly covered over with plaster; the dome, which rises over the northeast corner of the roof, being whitewashed. This building is supposed to cover the grave of Aaron.

The entrance is on the south side. Over the doorway there is an Arabic inscription, which states that the building was erected by ash-Shim'ani, the son of Mohammed Calaon, sultan of Egypt, at his father's command, in the year 739 of the Hegira, i.e., about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.; and that it was again restored in A.H. 900 (or 909), or about 1495 A.D.[7] The edifice is certainly of no great antiquity. The cracks in the wooden door allow the visitor, without entering, a glimpse of the interior; but it was our good fortune to have obtained from the Ḳaimmaḳâm of Ma'ân permission to enter the shrine, and a soldier from the Government to escort us. The custodian of the Mosque, whose home was in Alji, accompanied us and showed us everything.

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[6] Bartlett suggests that it once may have served as a convent (*Forty Days in the Desert*, 1845, p. 120); but this is very improbable.

[7] So Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*, 1872, p. 365; cf. Philby in Kennedy's *Petra, Its History and Monuments*, 1925, p. 9.

Before entering, however, we climbed to the roof of the Mosque, to enjoy the extensive, and for weirdness unique, panorama, obtainable from this rocky height. The view is magnificent! Toward the northeast one looks over Petra and Wâdi Mûsa. At closer range he descries the Dair which rises among the sandstone crags on the west side of the city; while beyond Petra lies the little village of 'Aireh, one half hour's distance from Alji. Straight north on a clear day, the Dead Sea, fully fifty miles away, is visible over the porphyritic heights of the Seir range. Several members in our party in August, 1907, protested that they were able to see its waters quite distinctly. The view to the west extended far across the 'Arabah into the western half of Edom, which, in Scripture, is known also as the Negeb, or South Country. On the south, the horizon was bounded by what Philby calls "the mountains of Midian." Taken as a whole, the panoramic view obtained from the summit of Jabal Nabi Harûn is among the finest rock scenery in the world. The whole immediate vicinage is colored sandstone. Silence reigns over all. Only an occasional scream of an eagle, a hawk, or other vulture, is ever heard.

Upon entering the sacred Mosque, the aged shaikh of Alji showed us the objects of particular interest. The structure itself consists of a single plain room about thirty feet square, and a crypt or grotto beneath. The walls are plastered, but blackened by age, and in places broken. The floor was apparently once paved with handsome inlaid marble or porphyry. An empty sarcophagus, or better, an Arab cenotaph, 4 feet, 7 inches long, by 2 feet, 10 inches wide, and 4 feet, 3 inches high, stands on the right as you enter.

It is covered over in Arab style with a tattered pall. On the face of the cenotaph is an Arabic inscription in Cufic characters which begins, "In the name of Allah the most merciful and the most gracious," and proceeds to state that "there is no Allah but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet." There was little of interest about the cenotaph itself, except that all about on the floor and on the wall were the usual evidences of Mohammedan devotion, such as two ostrich eggs hanging from the ceiling (which are often conspicuous decorations in a Mohammedan mosque), vessels for oil, pieces of matting, rags and shreds of yarn, a few beads, and other votive offerings of minor interest, left behind by worshipers; many lying near the Miḥrâb or prayer niche. There was also a ladder standing in the Mosque reaching up to a recess in the wall in which the lamps were kept. Fixed in the wall, also, there was a polished black stone, which, from the appearance of the marks about it, was evidently the object of worship and adoration. Legh, who was a fellow traveler of Irby and Mangles, speaks of this stone as "reputed to possess considerable virtue in the cure of diseases, and to have formerly served as a seat for the Prophet."[8]

It is not in this cenotaph, however, that the Arabs claim the body of the Great High Priest of Israel rests, but in the subterranean vault below; which has in part been hewn out of the mother rock. Thirteen steps at the northwest corner of the Mosque descend to it. The grotto itself is a tiny chamber, only 14 feet long by 5 feet broad, and 7½ feet high.[9] From a wooden pole across one end hang two leaves of an iron grating which formerly prevented all nearer approach to the tomb. A ragged pall hung behind the iron, protecting the tomb. The walls of the sacred crypt are thickly plastered, and here and there in it are recesses made to receive the lamps and vessels for oil. As I took out my tape to measure the tomb, the shaikh who accompanied me seized me by the wrists, kissed my hands, and begged me for Allah's sake to desist. To him this grotto was evidently too holy for mathematics; while the tomb of the Prophet was sacrosanct. To please him I left off. All the while the Turkish soldier who was with us stood praying audibly!

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[8] In his "Journey from Moscow to Constantinople in the years 1817-18"; quoted by Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia,* p. 420.

[9] Miss Martineau speaks of it as "a mere cupboard, within an unhinged grating."

As we left the sacred mountain environment, I inquired of my Mohammedan escorts, "Did Aaron really die here; and was he buried in this cave?"

The Custodian of the Mosque replied: "All we know is that the Prophet's grave is here. Some say, he died at 'Ain al-Weibeh, and was buried originally down there in the 'Arabah; that, later, he was found at 'Ain Malîḥa (near Wâdi Jaraifeh) having been carried thence by the angels; from there he flew up here!"

"Do Moslems come hither on pilgrimages to worship?" I further inquired.

He answered: "Yes, from two to three hundred come up to this mountain to sacrifice every year; from Shaubak, and Ma'ân and Alji; many from Alji. No one, however, from across the 'Arabah, and only occasionally one from Kerak, or Tibuk."

"Is there any particular day appointed for annual sacrifice?" I further pressed.

"No," replied the shaikh, "but usually on Fridays Mohammedans come here by preference to pray; especially in summer when the fruits are ripe; then they come in large numbers. They bring with them their food, rice and bread and fruit, and frequently use for cooking or sacrifice the large kettle which you saw down at the foot of the hill."

This, then, is the picture of what one sees when he visits Jabal Nabi Harûn. The mountain is outstanding, and the view from its summit is commanding. It is especially sacred to the Arabs of Mt. Seir only. The Mohammedans of this district make pilgrimages to it. Even Christians are interested in visiting it, because of its associations with Aaron. But for non-Moslems, the tomb has really no intrinsic value or interest. For, as must already be evident from the facts here given, it is only an ordinary Moslem shrine, which, even for Moslems, has but local interest. There is not a shred of real proof that Aaron, the Great High Priest of Israel, died or was buried here. Mohammedan traditions are often utterly untrustworthy. This in our opinion is an instance.

XX

THE TRUE MT. HOR—JABAL MADERAH

LOCAL Mohammedan tradition, as we have seen, identifies Jabal Nabi Harûn with Mt. Hor, the mountain of Scripture on which Aaron, the Great High Priest of Israel, is said to have died and been buried (Num. 20:22-29). Josephus is the oldest witness to this view.[1] Dean Stanley in 1856 accepted of this identification, saying,

> It [Jabal Harûn] is one of the very few spots connected with the wanderings of the Israelites, which admits of no reasonable doubt. The proofs of identity are: (1) the situation "by the coast of the land of Edom"; (2) the statement of Josephus, that Aaron's death occurred on a high mountain enclosing Petra; and (3) the modern name and traditional sanctity of the mountain as connected with Aaron's tomb.[2]

Palmer also endorsed the Mohammedan view, saying,

> The position assigned to Mt. Hor in Numbers 20:23, namely, "by the coast of the land of Edom," the testimony of ancient writers, and constant tradition, all combine to identify that mountain with the lofty summit now called Jabal Harûn. This rises so conspicuously above the heights which form "the coast" (or border) "of Edom," as to deserve the name, given to it in the Bible, of *Ha Hor,* or The Mountain.[3]

Libbey and Hoskins went even further, and by the help of pure imagination, endeavored to compel assent to their identification.[4]

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[1] *Antiq.,* IV, 4, 7.

[2] *Sinai and Palestine* (new edit.), 1890, p. 153.

[3] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 428.

On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that the true mountain, on which Israel's Great High Priest died and was buried, must have been located considerably farther to the north and west. As early as in 1863, Wilton suggested the more probable mountain, namely, Jabal Maderah, which is located near the southern boundary of Judah, "by the border of the land of Edom" (Num. 20:23). He says, "I quite agree with a recent writer"[5] in rejecting the traditional site of Mt. Hor—in the heart of Edom, and close to its capital—as improbable in the extreme. . . . I am disposed rather to find it in the Jabal Maderah, south of the Sufâh pass."[6] Since Wilton wrote his valuable monograph, H. C. Trumbull has argued at length in favor of Jabal Maderah as the probable Mt. Hor of Scripture. He says:

> There is a mountain which fully meets the requirements of the Bible text, and the rational demands of the narrative, as to the Mount Hor where Aaron died and was buried. That mountain is Jabal Maderah, near the western extremity of Wâdi Fiḳreh, a little to the southwest of the passes as-Sufâh and al-Yemen. Its formation, its location, its name, go to identify it

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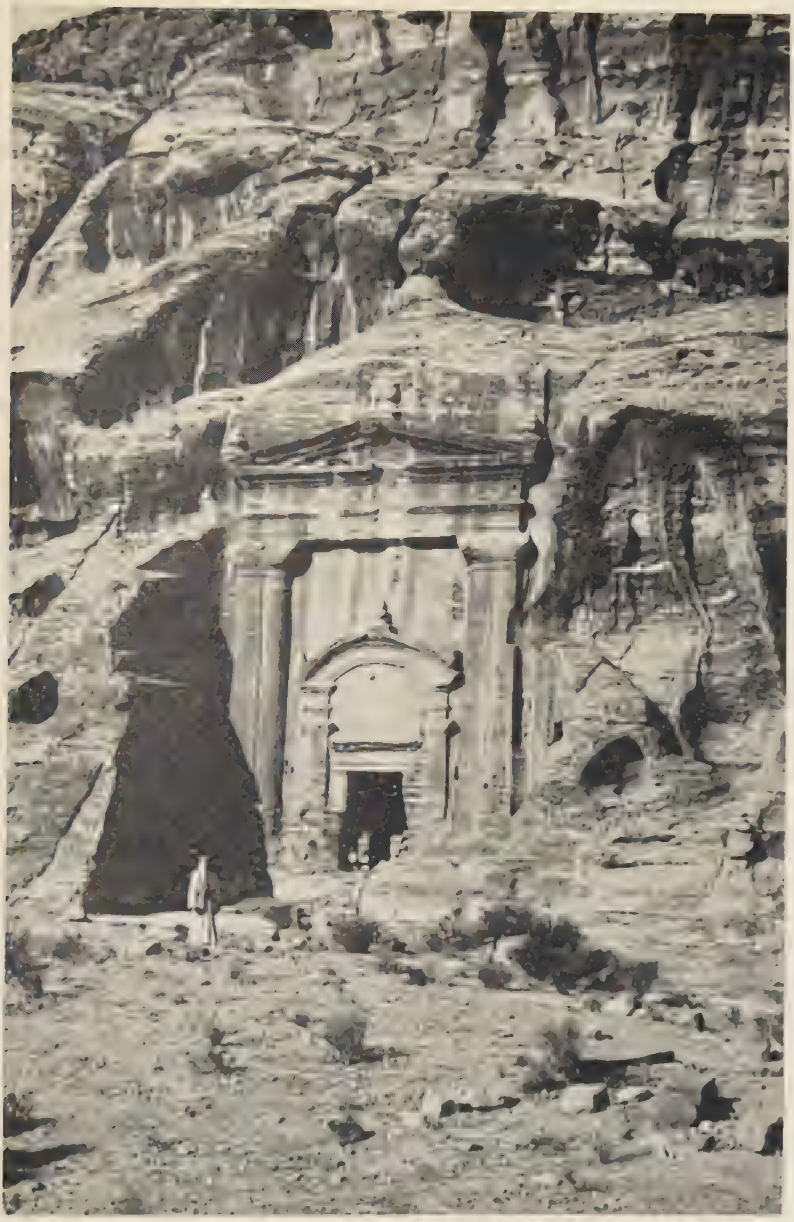
[4] *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* ii, 1905, pp. 243-244. They say, "Travellers who have visited both locations (viz. Jabal Harûn and Jabal Maderah, the rival mountain of identification), have little hesitation in affirming that this peak in Edom more perfectly fulfils all the requirements of the Bible narrative." Yet, nothing could be wider of the truth; not a single name of the few visitors who have ever explored both mountains could be invoked! There are hosts of similar statements in these volumes by Libbey and Hoskins, which are quite misleading (cf. Dalman's critique in his *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 3).

[5] Referring to an article entitled, "Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor; or, a Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus," in the *Jour. Sac. Lit.,* 1860, pp. 1-59.

[6] *The Negeb, or "South Country" of Scripture,* 1863, pp. 126, 127.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Tomb with Three Urns, in Wâdi ad-Dair

> with the place of Aaron's burial, and there is even a smack of tradition in its favor.[7]

Others, in more recent years, have become more and more convinced that Jabal Maderah rather than Jabal Nabi Harûn is the more probable identification. For example, S. A. Cook (though cautiously using the word "perhaps") identifies Mt. Hor of the Old Testament and Jabal Maderah.[8] Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, though he still clings to the traditional location as "more probable," yet allows that "there can be no doubt that the death of Aaron was at one time in Israel's history connected with Mosera (the 'smooth' mountain, Jabal Maderah)." He also says: "I climbed Jabal Maderah on the 20th of June 1905. . . . And I can see no insurmountable linguistic difficulty in identifying the mountain with the Mosera of Deuteronomy 10:6."[9] G. B. Gray admits that the site of Mt. Hor is not definitely known; yet he allows that Jabal Maderah, which by some recent scholars is identified with Mt. Hor, "satisfies the conditions of the text." And he adds, "It is on the western border of Edom, whose territory stretched westwards of the 'Arabah, and therefore far beyond Petra, that we must seek Mt. Hor."[10] A. R. S. Kennedy expresses the opinion, that "both [Mosera and Mt. Hor of Scripture] probably lay in the neighborhood of the Jabal Maderah to the northeast of 'Ain Ḳadees, and east of the Wâdi Fiḳreh."[11] In like manner, A. H. McNeile, concludes, that "Jabal Maderah, a mountain north-east of Kadesh and a short distance south of the Dead Sea, suits the data in the text and is the best conjecture which has as yet been made."[12] W. Ewing boldly affirms:

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[7] *Kadesh-Barnea,* 1884, pp. 132, 133.

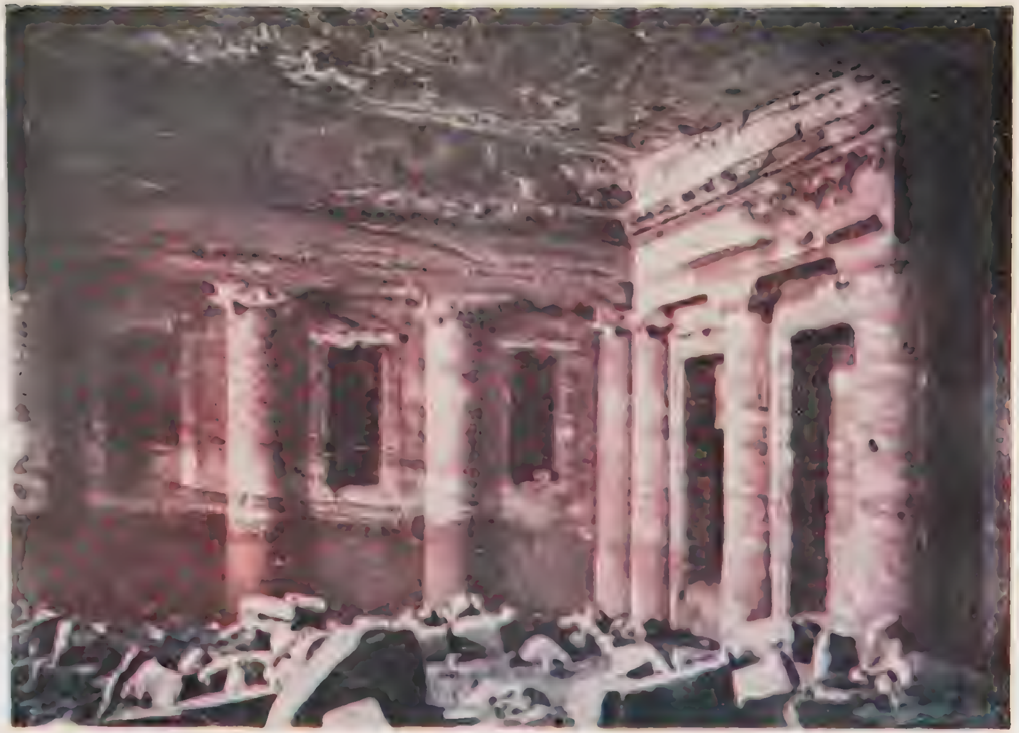
[8] *Encyc. Brit.,* art. "Edom."

[9] *Jour. Bibl. Lit.,* 1910, pp. 67, 76.

[10] *Int. Crit. Comm.,* "Numbers," 1903, p. 270.

[11] *New Cent. Bible,* "Lev.-Num.," p. 306.

[12] *Cambridge Bible,* "Numbers," 1911, p. 109.



Tomb with fluted columns, in Wadi Farasa

"It is now recognized that the identification of Mt. Hor with Jabal Nabi Harûn is impossible."[13] A. C. Zenos corroborates the scientific view of recent years, saying, "Trumbull is probably right in locating Mt. Hor at Jabal Maderah northwest of Edom."[14] F. Buhl, also, alleges, that "the identification of Hor with the mountain by Petra is impossible. . . . Hor is better located near Mosera, namely, Jabal Maderah."[15] J. D. Davis fairly represents thoughtful, scientific opinion on the matter when he asserts, "Tradition has settled on Jabal Harûn; but the tradition is open to serious question. It appears to rest on the false identification of Kadesh with Petra. Jabal Harûn is in the midst of Edom, and not on its border, as was Hor. . . . Jabal Maderah, about 15 miles northeast of Kadesh, has been suggested and satisfies the conditions."[16]

The question can hardly be decided by those who have seen but one of the two mountains; much less by those who have seen neither. On the other hand, it has been the writer's good fortune twice to visit each one of these mountains.

1. The Biblical Data. Three separate passages represent Mt. Hor as the scene of Aaron's death:

(1) Numbers 20:22-28:

> And they journeyed from Kadesh: and the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, came unto mount Hor. And Jehovah spake unto Moses and Aaron in mount Hor, by the border of the land of Edom, saying, Aaron shall be gathered unto his people; for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the waters of Meribah. Take Aaron and Eleazar his son, and bring them up

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[13] *Int. Stand. Bible Encyc.,* 1915, iii, art. "Hor," Col. 1421.

[14] *New Stand. Bible Dict.* (Revised edition), 1926, p. 360.

[15] *Die Geschichte der Edomiter,* 1893, pp. 22, 23.

[16] *Dict. of the Bible,* 3rd ed., 1911, pp. 321, 322.

> unto mount Hor; and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son: and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people and shall die there. And Moses did as Jehovah commanded: and they went up into mount Hor in the sight of all the congregation. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron died there on the top of the mount.

(2) Numbers 33:37-38:

> And they journeyed from Kadesh, and encamped in mount Hor, in the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the priest went up into mount Hor at the commandment of Jehovah, and died there.

(3) Deuteronomy 32:48-50:

> And Jehovah spake unto Moses that selfsame day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, unto mount Nebo . . . and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people, as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor.[17]

There is another passage, however, which seems, at first sight, to contradict those just cited; it is found in Deuteronomy 10:6, and reads, "And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah. There Aaron died, and there he was buried." Now, from all these passages and their contexts, it is incumbent upon us to deduce the facts and hints necessary to locate the true mountain. The following are some of the points that should be noted:

(1) It is stated in Numbers 20:14-21, that "Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom," asking permission to pass through his territory, but the king of Edom refused to grant the petition, coming out "against

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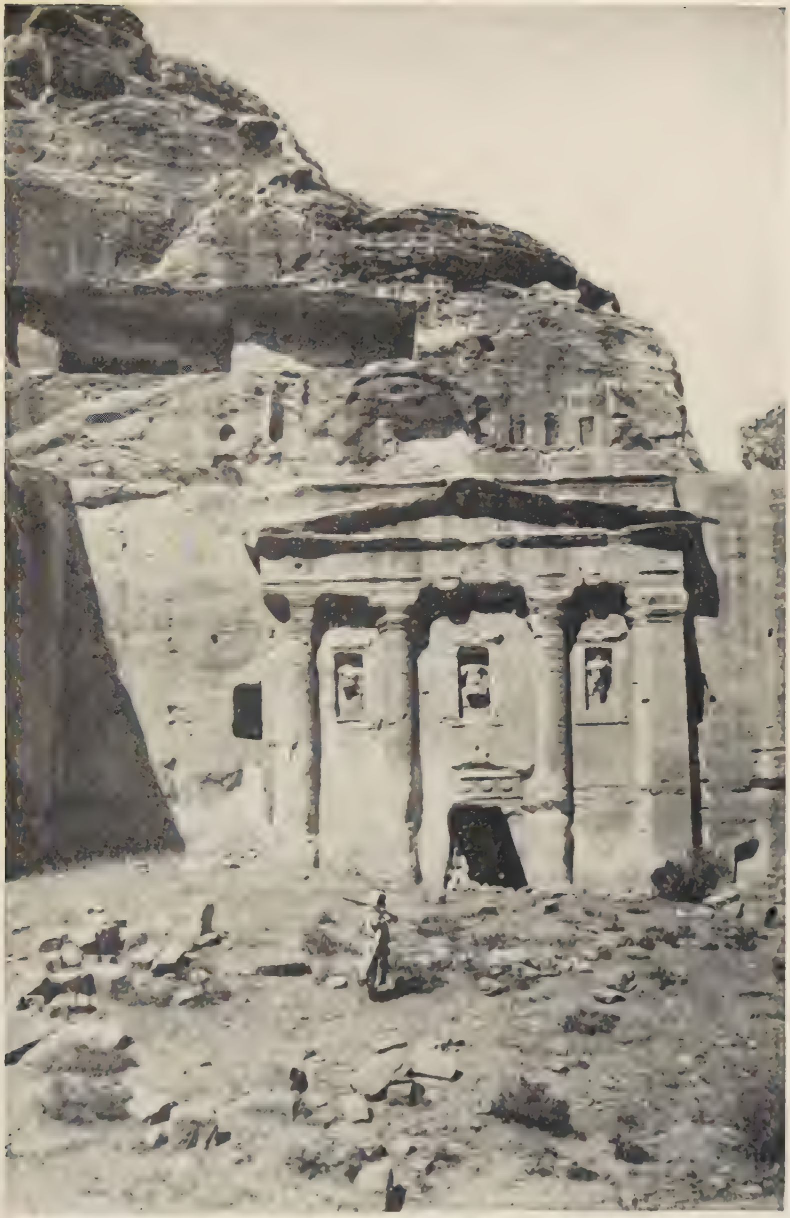
[17] The "Mt. Hor" alluded to in Num. 34:7, 8 is quite a different peak, the location of which must be sought in the neighborhood of Hamath, on the Orontes in North Syria.



(See Chapter IX) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Tomb of the Statues, in Wâdi Farasa

him with much people and with a strong hand." This is significant, and has a bearing upon the whole problem.

(2) It is also twice recorded (Num. 20:22; 33:37), that Israel journeyed from Kadesh and came unto Mt. Hor, and encamped there. Whether they began their journey from Kadesh toward Mt. Hor during the absence of the messengers sent, or directly after their return, is not stated. Quite possibly they broke camp prior to the actual return of the messengers.

(3) In two passages (Num. 20:23; 33:37), the general location of "Mt. Hor" is given as "by the border," or "in the edge" of the land of Edom.

(4) More explicitly it is stated, in Numbers 20:27, that Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar, his son, went up into the mountain "in the sight of all the congregation," which may hint that the mountain was not very far distant (cf. a similar use of the same idiom in 2 Sam. 16:22).

(5) It is also related in Numbers 20:29 that when Aaron died the people mourned for him thirty days!

(6) And in close connection it is further recounted, in Numbers 21:1-3; 33:40, that the king of Arad (a city usually identified with Tell Arad, some sixteen miles south of Hebron), having heard of Israel's approach, came out against them, but, in the issue of the conflict which followed, was completely vanquished.

(7) And in sequence it is further declared, in Numbers 21:4, that the Israelites "journeyed from mount Hor by the way to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom; and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way."

2. *The Location of Jabal Maderah.* Now, from these different specifications and particulars it is evident (if there is any chronological sequence to the record), that Mount Hor must be looked for somewhere between Kadesh and

the border of the land of Edom; and if Kadesh is correctly identified with ‘Ain Ḳadees, as is commonly done, that Mt. Hor must be located somewhere between it and the city of Arad. No other mountain fulfills all these conditions so well as Jabal Maderah.

Jabal Maderah is located about twenty-five miles southwest of the southern end of the Dead Sea, or about three miles southwest of the junction of the Wâdies Yemen and Fiḳreh. If a line, indeed, were drawn from ‘Ain Ḳadees to the southern end of the Dead Sea, Jabal Maderah would stand at about the middle point. It rises in the midst of a wilderness which looks "like a grand glowing limekiln, or a great boiling cauldron, suddenly arrested and fixed, as if it had once been mightily shaken into all fantastic shapes";[18] and, therefore, near the point where the boundaries of Edom and Canaan come together. Thus it was situated on the very border of the land of promise, yet just outside; and, on the very edge of the land of Edom, yet not far within. In our journeys, we approached it, first from the northeast, and in departing struck out toward the southeast; on our second visit, we approached it from the south, and in leaving turned westward.

3. Description of Jabal Maderah. Few mountains rise so conspicuously from the plains in which they are situated as Jabal Maderah; it rears its flat rectangular head some six or seven hundred feet into the air, resembling a lofty white citadel. From every direction it attracts the eye of the traveler. Even from the distant table-lands of Edom proper far across the ‘Arabah; as one rides from Shaubak to Bozrah, it stands out as the most conspicuous mountain on the western horizon. Being white and chalky, it presents a striking contrast to the brown desert plain in which it stands. Many explorers testify to its unique appearance; Lindsay describes it as "a large, singular-looking, isolated chalk hill";[19] Palmer, as a "round, isolated hill."[20] Robinson describes it as a mountain, "remarkable in appearance, rising alone like a lofty citadel on the eastern bank of Wâdi al-Fiḳreh."[21] El-Muḳattem (a pseudonym for Dr. Howard Crosby) describes it as "detached from all other mountains," and as "rising from the plain as we may imagine the tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar."[22] Seetzen describes it as a "steep-sided" hill, "quite naked," and "surrounded by a most unfruitful plain."[23] Schubert mentions it as "a high, bald mountain."[24] Trumbull describes it as "a mountain rising by itself alone from a plain, like Mount Tabor."[25] The accompanying photographs show how symmetrical and isolated it is.

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[18] As Rowlands describes it in his article on "Moserah" in *The Imperial Bible Dict.*, ii, 1872, p. 280.

Its sides are steep and barren, being composed of soft, decayed limestone, with a mixture of sulphur and saltpeter. An Arab footpath leads up from the plain over the western end of the mountain. Twenty-three minutes brought us in the heat of noonday in May from the base to the summit. The upper portion of the climb was somewhat difficult, especially along a sharp, narrow ridge about one hundred feet in length, with precipices on either side, a deep chasm across it, transversely, over which one was forced to leap, and a large bowlder on its top. These, however, were all safely passed in the ascent; but it was even more difficult to come down.

Having reached the summit, which was quite smooth and

[19] *Letters on Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land,* 1847, p. 233.

[20] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 351.

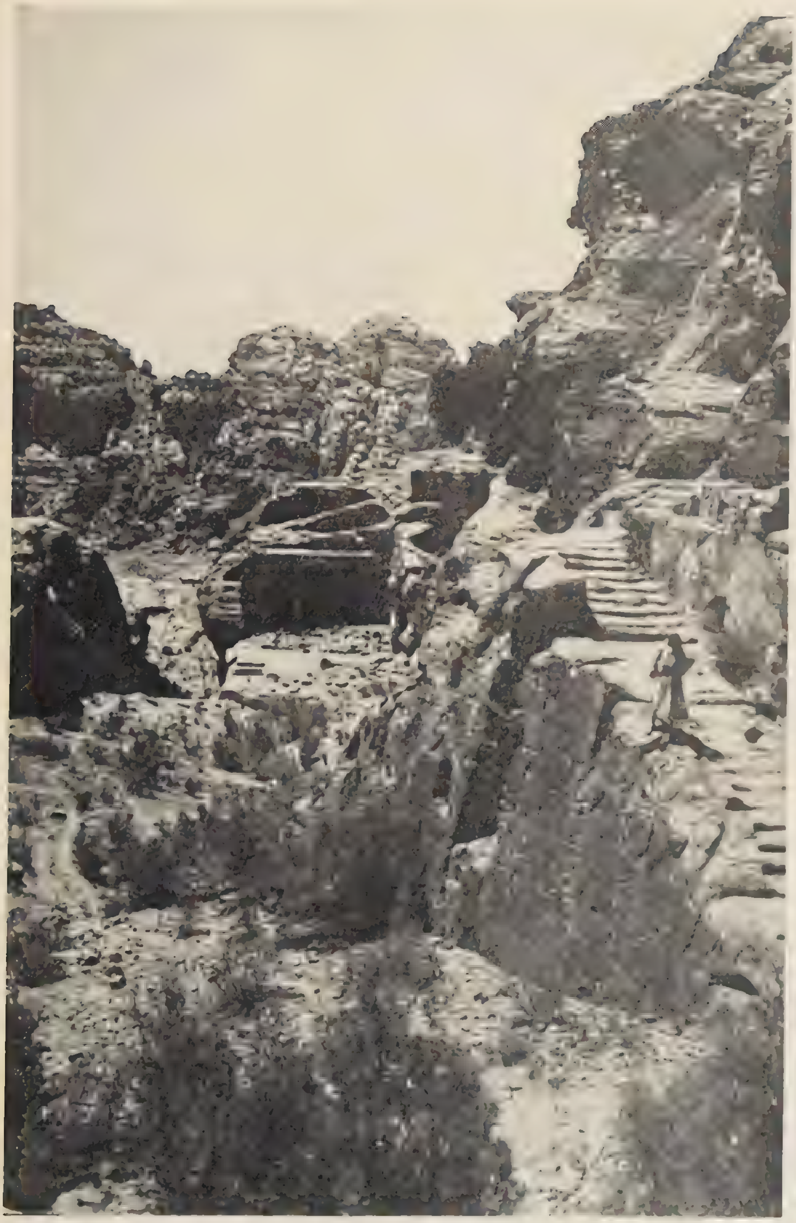
[21] *Biblical Researches,* ii, 1874, p. 179.

[22] *Lands of the Moslem,* 1851, p. 235.

[23] *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phœnicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petræa, u. Unter-Ægypten,* 1805-07, iii, p. 14.

[24] *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 u. 1837,* ii, p. 443.

[25] *Kadesh-Barnea,* 1884, p. 133.



(See Chapter IX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Garden Tomb in Wâdi Farasa, showing, on the right, steps leading up to Great High Place flat, though sloping slightly toward the south, our attention was first arrested by a large circle of small stones, eighteen feet in diameter, having a small depression in its center which was evidently intended by the Arabs as a kind of cromlech in connection with religious ceremonies. This was situated near the southwest corner of the mountain's flat roof surface. Farther to the east there were two elliptical stone circles which suggested the idea of tombs; probably, however, of no great antiquity. The whole flat platform or roof of the mountain is composed of two independent, non-communicable sections, cut off from each other by a narrow tongue or ridge of mountain surface about seventy-five feet lower in altitude than the level of the top platform on which we stood. The eastern section was about three hundred yards long. The western section which we climbed we found to be four hundred and fifty paces from east to west, and two hundred and eighty paces from north to south. The other we were unable to climb.

The view from the summit was most desolate and weird. On the east stretched for miles the wilderness of Paran, which opened out through two wâdies, Fiḳreh and Ḳuseib, into the ʻArabah. Far beyond rose the mountains of Seir, and southern Moab to the northeast. On the south, also, as far as the eye could reach, extended the same fruitless desert, its undulating surface being covered with black flints, and broken by numerous small wâdies. On the west the eye rested upon the dry valley bed of Wâdi Murreh, which empties its water floods into Wâdi Maderah near the base of the mountain. Looking north, at one's feet was the broad bottom of Wâdi Maderah, beyond which rose the imposing range of bare, "smooth" mountains which formed the southern boundary of Canaan and are probably identical with "Mount Halak" of Joshua 11:17; 12:7.[26] With the single exception of an eagle, which soared above our heads, there was no sign of life for miles in any direction.

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[26] Nathaniel Schmidt, however, regards Jabal Maderah as the "smooth" mountain of Josh. 11:17 (*Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, 1910, Part. I, p. 67).

Most remarkable, at the base of the mountain on its southern side the desert, for some distance round, is strewn with a single layer of large elliptical limestones, in shape resembling cannon balls, concerning which the Arabs have a tradition to the effect that "a people once dwelt there, to whom there came one day some travelers seeking hospitality; but the people of the place did unto them a vile and horrible deed. Wherefore the Almighty in his anger rained down stones upon them, and destroyed them from off the face of the earth."[27] This legend suggests the story of Sodom and Gomorrah recorded in Genesis 19, which seems to have been transferred from the Dead Sea to this mountain.[28] Wilton sees in it a hint as to the etymological derivation of the name.

4. The derivation of the name Maderah. The modern pronunciation of the name by the Arabs of the desert varies between the sound of a *dal* and that of a *dhad;* for example, some pronounce it "Maderah"; others, "Madherah." Arabs of the desert, as is well known, frequently pronounce a *dal* like a *dhad.* If the root be spelled with a *dhad* the name means "whiteness," which corresponds exactly with the character of the mountain. If, on the other hand, the root be spelled with a *dal,* then the name means clods of tough cohesive clay loam, or mud without sand; which also satisfies most perfectly the character of the mountain, particularly after a rain storm.[29] From the same root is derived the name of a mountain near Mecca, and of a place near Madînah.[30] My friend, Dr. Jebr Dhumit of Beirût, Professor of Arabic in the American University, believes that the name can be traced back historically to the period of the Hyksos, who originally came, he thinks, from Yemen by the way of southern Palestine into Egypt, and in their sweep through the Negeb named this mountain after a large town in the Arabian district of Yemen. The Arab historian al-Homadani mentions such a town as flourishing three hundred years after the Hegira.

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[27] Cf. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 351; Robinson, *Bibl. Res.,* ii, 1874, p. 179; Seetzen in Zach's *Monatl. Corr.,* xvii, p. 133; Lindsay, *Letters on Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land,* 1847, p. 233; Wilton, *The Negeb,* 1863, p. 133.

[28] Strabo (*Geography,* xvi, 2, 44), referring to the destruction of these cities, calls the site of their ruin "Moasada," a name somewhat similar to the Arabic name Maderah! This, however, may be only a literary coincidence of no value.

[29] Cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 1885, *in loco.*

The name "Moserah," which in Deuteronomy 10:6 is said to have been the name of the place where Aaron died and was buried, helps to untie the knot and solve the relationship between Mt. Hor and Jabal Maderah. "Moseroth,"[31] the plural of the same word, occurs in the list of encampments recorded in Numbers 33:30, 31. At first sight, the passage in Deuteronomy seems to voice not only a divergent tradition, but to furnish an absolutely irreconcilable statement concerning the geography of Aaron's death and sepulcher. But, even with the help of the critical analysis of the Pentateuch (i.e., on the basis of different codes) the difficulty still remains. For example, Numbers 20:22-29 and 21:4, in which "Mt. Hor" is given as the name of the mountain where Aaron died, are assigned to the Priestly Writer (P), though it stands in a Jehovist-Elohist (JE) context. The same is true of Deuteronomy 32:50. On the other hand, Numbers 33, as a whole is assigned also to the Priestly writer (P); and yet in this one document, both Mt. Hor and Moseroth occur (vss. 30, 31, 38); whereas, Deuteronomy 10:6, in which Aaron is declared to have died at Mosera, is assigned to the Elohist (E), notwithstanding its strong affinities with the Priestly writer (P). The sources are thus divergent within themselves. The only satisfactory solution of the difficulty is that by Ewald, who suggested that "these two divergent traditions may be most easily reconciled by supposing the two places to have been not far from each other; Hor lying strictly more to the north, but used, as the name of a high mountain easily might be, to designate a larger district."[32]

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[30] Cf. *Lexicon Geographicum,* edited by Juynball, iii, 1854.

[31] Both the singular and plural, of course, are derived from the same root *asar,* "to bind," the initial radical, *aleph,* of the root vanishing in the noun derived from it. But Wilton prefers to derive the Arabic name from a root *yasar,* "to discipline," the root thus furnishing a basis for the legend which clings to the place, that God disciplined the inhabitants by raining upon them stones from heaven. Wilton's derivation thus satisfies the meaning of "Mosera," as given by Jerome (*Onomast.* Lagarde's edit. p. 51): "Mosera eruditio uel disciplina eius." He also connects with it Aaron's death, "Misaida filiorum Jacim locus in solitudine, in quo obiit Aaron" (*ibid,* p. 169).

Whether Maderah is the corresponding Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew name Mosera (even if Mosera and Mt. Hor are essentially one) is still an open question. The Arabic *dal,* or *dhal,* in "Maderah" as a philological equivalent of the Hebrew *samech* in Mosera has no known analogy. The correspondence in sound may be purely accidental. Yet, it must be allowed that the sibilants and dentals of Semitic languages are often interchanged, and that there may, therefore, be an affinity between Mosera in Hebrew and Maderah in Arabic, even though no analogy has been found. It is even possible that in the Arabic name of the mountain a *sad* or a *dhad* may have become confused.[33]

[32] *History of Israel,* ii, p. 201.

[33] Let the student compare the Hebrew word for "tread," *raphas,* with the Arabic root *rafas,* meaning "to kick"; the Hebrew *batsa',* "cut off," and the Arabic *badha'* of the same meaning; also, the Hebrew *natsaḥ,* "be preëminent" and the Arabic *naṣah,* meaning "to be pure." Musil (*Arabia Deserta,* 1927, p. 484), when discussing the pronunciation of Arabic proper names, in the Sirḥan region (directly east of Edom) says, that the spoken "z" sounds almost like *d;* for example, compare the faulty pronunciation of *mazrub* for *madhrub!* Cf. further, D. B. Macdonald's discussion of "The Interchange of Sibilants and Dentals in Semitic" (*Amer. Jour. Sem. Langs. and Lits.,* 1899, p. 103), in which he remarks that "it is at least curious that

The one other argument against identifying Mt. Hor of Scripture with Jabal Maderah is the testimony of Josephus, who, as we have already recorded, says:

> But after the army (that had so long mourned the dead sister of the general) were thus purified, he led them through the desert into Arabia; and arriving in a place (which the Arabians account for their metropolitan city, in times past called Arce, and at this present, Petra) which is environed with a high mountain, Aaron ascended the said mountain, and Moses showed him the place where he should yield up his soul unto God; and in the sight of all the army standing on a high place, he put off his *stole,* and gave it to his son Eleazar, to whom, by eldership, the succession appertained; and thus, in the sight of the people, he died in that very year wherein he lost his sister, in the one hundred and thirty-third year of his age, in the month of August.[34]

Eusebius and Jerome corroborate Josephus; for they likewise understood that the traditional tomb of Aaron was not far from Petra.[35] Yet no one of these ancient authorities suggest a particle of evidence in favor of this identification. They evidently confused the Rock-Kadesh and the Rock-Petra. As Trumbull remarks, "Mount Hor may indeed have been near the Rock-Kadesh; it could not have been at the Rock-Petra." [36] Eusebius and Jerome were influenced unquestionably by their other identification of

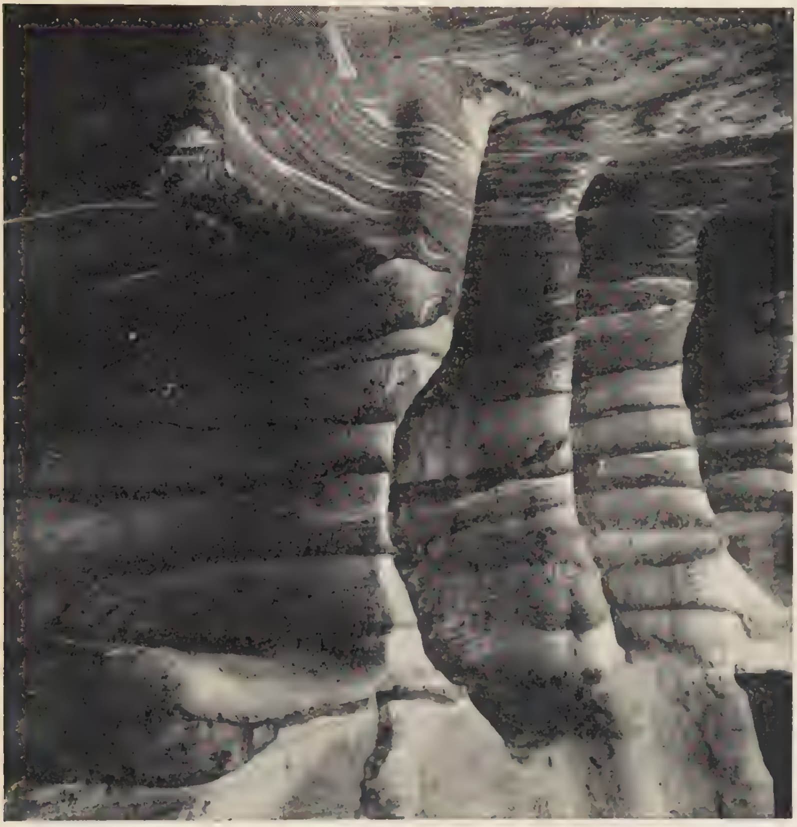
both *samek* and *sheen* have a tendency to interchange with *tsade* in Hebrew"; and quotes Lagarde as believing that the original sound of *samek* must have been a *ksh* or *ks*. This certainly helps to make it still more probable that "Maderah" and "Mosera" may be regarded as equivalents.

[34] *Antiq.*, IV, 4, 7.

[35] Eusebius, *Onomastica Sacra* (Lagarde Edit.), 1887, p. 291; Jerome, *ibid.*, pp. 175, 176.

[36] *Kadesh-Barnea,* 1884, p. 131.

Petra with Kadesh; having located Kadesh in Wâdi Mûsa they felt forced to find some near-by mountain on which the Great High Priest of Israel died. No one, however, ever thinks longer of locating Kadesh at Petra. Eusebius and Jerome also located the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim near Jericho.[37] According to Arab tradition it was in Wâdi



(See Chapter IX) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Details of beautifully veined sandstone

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[37] *Onomastica Sacra* (Lagarde edit.), 1887, p. 158.

Mûsa that Pharaoh resisted Moses and Aaron.[38] The Crusaders identified Jabal Nabi Harûn as Mount Sinai.[39] Arab tradition concerning a tomb is a poor basis for a geographical identification; for example, the Moslems of Hebron insist that Joseph was buried in the Cave of Machpelah, as well as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their wives; while the Moslems of Shechem point with emphasis and conviction to Joseph's tomb as near their city (cf. Josh. 24:32). Favorite traditions are easily invented and still more easily propagated. At best that which associates Aaron with Jabal Nabi Harûn is only local. The perpetuation of a local tradition such as this by the modern Arabs is really of little significance. According to a Mohammedan legend preserved by Kazwîni in the thirteenth century and reëchoed by Iban Iyâs in the fifteenth, Moses died and was buried in Wâdi Mûsa.[40] The Mohammedans in and about Jerusalem likewise have a tradition that Moses was buried six miles south of Jericho at a place called Nabi Mûsa, not far from the northwest corner of the Dead Sea, to which immense pilgrimages are made every year at Easter time in honor of the prophet and his tomb.

The name itself, moreover, of the mountain near Petra, Jabal Nabi Harûn, i.e., "the mountain of the Prophet Aaron," is not a Biblical name. There is no such mountain in Scripture. The Bible nowhere mentions a "Mountain of Aaron." The Arabic name, therefore, does not perpetuate a Biblical tradition. The Hebrew name of the mountain on which Aaron was buried is Hor-ha-har, which means "Hor the mountain" or "the mountain which is a mountain," that is, "the remarkable mountain"; or, as the

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[38] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta,* 1888, i, p. 40.

[39] Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* i, 1904, p. 188.

[40] Cf. Robinson, *Bibl. Res.,* 1841, ii, p. 576, n. 1.

Oriental Jews explain the phrase, "the top of the mountain."

And so, in view of the obvious baselessness of the Moslem tradition, it is not at all strange that many modern writers and commentators on Old Testament Scripture have in recent years discarded the ancient tradition of Josephus, and the more modern tradition of the Arabs as untrustworthy, and have frankly concluded that the mountain near Petra cannot have been the true Mt. Hor.[41]

5. *Summary.* Summing up the facts as they stand before us, the logical and necessary deduction concerning the location of the true mount Hor seems to be as follows:

(1) The Hebrew name of the mountain on which Aaron died, Hor-ha-har, whatever it means, whether "Hor, the mountain," or "the mountain that is a mountain," is quite as applicable to Jabal Maderah as to Jabal Nabi Harûn. The latter is but a conspicuous peak in a series of peaks, particularly as seen from the east, whereas Jabal Maderah is an outstanding and isolated mountain as seen by one approaching it from any direction, especially from the southwest.

(2) The location of Jabal Maderah with reference to Kadesh corresponds more accurately with a statement in Numbers 20:16, that Kadesh is "a city in the uttermost of Edom's border." Jabal Maderah lies northeast of 'Ain Ḳadees, and, therefore, on the direct route which Israel would naturally take in marching from Kadesh across Edom to Moab. Jabal Nabi Harûn, on the other hand, is far too distant from Kadesh to satisfy the Biblical description.

(3) Especially does the location of Jabal Maderah satisfy the Biblical data concerning the boundary of the

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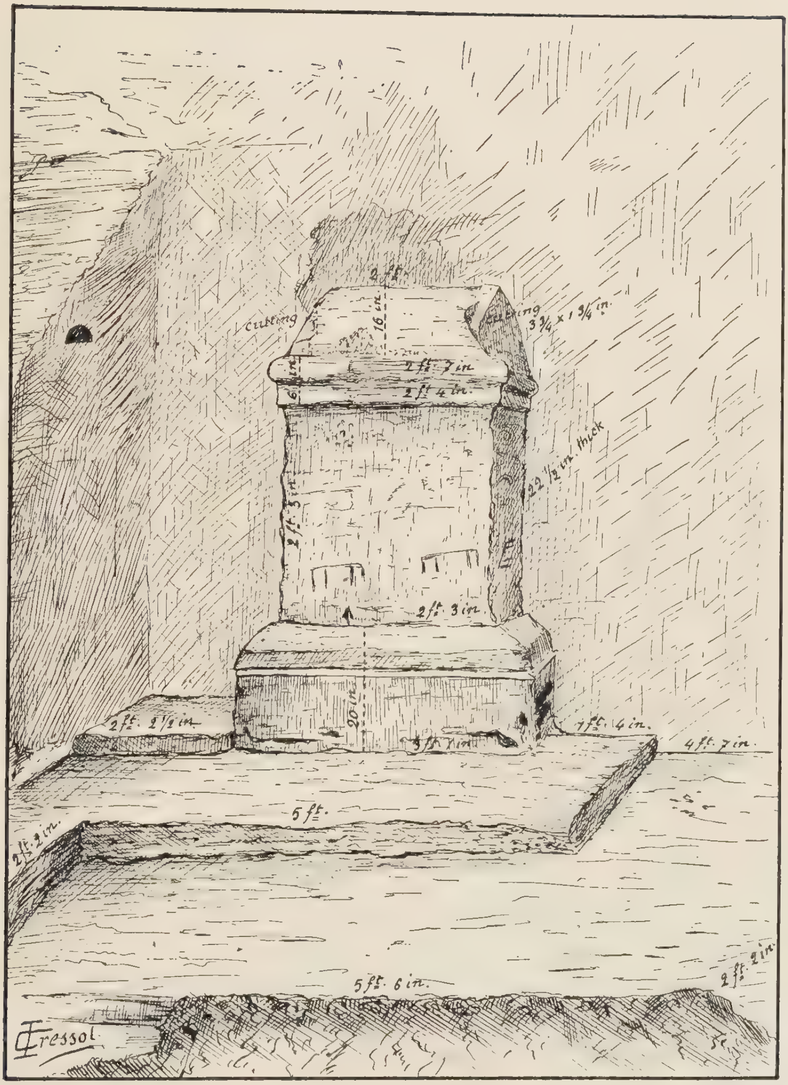
[41] For example, Niebuhr, 1774; Pococke, 1743; "H. C." in the *Journal of Sacred Literature,* April, 1860; Knobel, 1861; Ewald, 1876; and Sayce, 1893; cf. also G. L. Robinson, *The Biblical World,* 1908, pp. 86-100.

land of Edom in Numbers 20:23; 33:37, better than Jabal Nabi Harûn. The latter is according to Numbers 34:3 and Joshua 15:1-4 explicitly stated to be within Edom's bounds; indeed it is in the very center of Edom's possessions, and the Israelites were distinctly told that they should not possess so much as a foot's breadth of Edom's territory (Deut. 2:5).

(4) In Moses' time Bozrah, not Petra, was the probable capital of the Edomites; Petra was made the capital of the country by the Nabateans more than a thousand years later. Accordingly, the messengers whom Moses sent from Kadesh to ask permission to cross Edom's territory by "the king's highway" (Num. 20:17) wished permission to cross, probably by the road which leads up from 'Ain Ḥasb in the 'Arabah, first, along the valley bed of Wâdi Dhalal, and then along the crest of a ridge between Wâdi Dhalal and Wâdi Busaira, coming out at a fountain about two miles south of Bozrah known as 'Ain Jâlidi. This is a most excellent road. On the other hand, surely no one who has actually climbed up from the 'Arabah to Petra, would ever think of that way as the route by which Moses wished to cross Edom's territory. In any case, being refused by the king, is it probable that the Israelites would deliberately move into the very center of Edom's territory, and, as Trumbull remarks, "start a cemetery on one of the most commanding summits of the nation's stronghold?"

(5) Again, Jabal Maderah is so located, being isolated and yet comparatively easily accessible, that a transaction, like that of changing the priestly vestments of Aaron to Eleazar, on its summit, could have been done, literally, "in the sight of all the congregation" (Num. 20:27). Jabal Nabi Harûn's excessive height, on the other hand, and the absence of camping space near its top, quite forbid such a thought.


2 ft.
cutting
16 in.
cutting
3¾ x 1¾ in.
6 in.
2 ft. 7 in
2 ft. 4 in.
22½ in. thick
2 ft. 5 in.
2 ft. 3 in.
20 in.
3 ft. 7 in
2 ft. 2½ in.
1 ft. 4 in.
4 ft. 7 in.
5 ft.
2 ft. 2 in.
5 ft. 6 in.
2 ft. 2 in.
Cressot

(See Chapter IX)

Ancient altar below original high place

(6) And again, that the king of Arad, upon hearing of Israel's advance, "by way of the spies" (which is usually identified with Wâdi Yemen, close by Jabal Maderah), should have become so alarmed that he came out with an army to resist their further approach, as the implication is in Numbers 21:1-3, is a strong argument in favor of Jabal Maderah, which was comparatively close by, rather than Jabal Nabi Harûn, which was full seventy-five miles distant. In fact, if the latter mountain were at that time their objective point, then the Israelites were actually moving away from Arad, and the king had nothing to fear.

(7) In similar fashion, when the announcement was made to the Israelites that they must retrace their steps and journey by the Red Sea in order to compass the land of Edom, and it is stated that they murmured bitterly (Num. 21:4-5), it is certainly much more reasonable to suppose that their change of course required a longer wilderness journey than merely to cover the comparatively short distance between Jabal Nabi Harûn and 'Aḳabah. That would have been but a little retreat. Rather, they were probably at some remote point in the northern portion of the Negeb, we are disposed to think, namely, at Jabal Maderah, and to return through the great desert was a journey to be dreaded.

(8) And finally, Jabal Maderah is closely adjacent to the land of promise; so that Aaron, like his brother Moses, on Mt. Nebo, was able to view at least the long ridge of mountains which bounded Israel's territory on the south; though he was not allowed to enter the land itself. Jabal Nabi Harûn, on the other hand, is far too distant to allow of such a vision!

XXI

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRESENT DAY ARAB TO THE SHRINE OF "MT. HOR" [1]

By Professor Stewart Crawford, American University, Beirût

THE tomb of Nabi Harûn on Mt. Hor is at the present time the chief local center of worship for the inhabitants of a wide district of country around Petra. The population of this region is exclusively Moslem and may be divided conveniently into three classes: (1) The townspeople, in such places as Ma'ân and Wâdi Mûsa to the southwest, and Shaubak and Tafîla to the north; (2) Numerous small remnants and subdivisions of Bedouin tribes, once very powerful in many cases, but now poverty stricken, and so reduced in numbers that they no longer venture to migrate in the winter to the eastern desert; and (3) The typical nomadic tribes, i.e., tribes who, with the change of seasons, move their encampments from the great eastern plains of the Syrian desert with their much prized sparse winter growth of vegetation, to the wâdies of the Petra district, which are well watered even in summer. The largest of these tribes is that of the Ḥuwaitât.

Each of these three classes of the population holds the "maḳâm," or shrine of Harûn, in the greatest respect. Each, however, gives expression to its reverence for the

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[1] Mt. Hor in this chapter is used in the traditional sense, referring to Jabal Nabi Harûn.

"Wili," or Saint Harûm, quite independently of the others and sometimes in ways peculiar to itself.

The people of the towns make annual pilgrimages to Mt. Hor, either in the spring or autumn, each place following its own custom, according to the season. On these occasions great processions are formed, which go prepared to spend one or more nights on the mountain; and the pilgrimage is of the nature of a joyous festival, where there is singing and dancing and firing of guns, accompanied by sword play and feats of horsemanship. During the preceding year many vows have been made to the Wili by such of the townspeople as needed his help in the cure of sickness or otherwise. Those whose prayers have been answered by the Wili, usually find in the annual pilgrimage a favorable opportunity to fulfill their vows, which commonly take the form of animal sacrifices. Most of these sacrifices are killed on the level place near the top of the mountain, where there is a cistern for rain water, and here they are cooked in the large copper vessels belonging to the shrine, and are then eaten on great trays of rice which each family group of pilgrims provides for itself. This meal is always spoken of as an " 'asha," or supper, for Nabi Harûn. The old shaikh, or servant of the shrine, usually leads one of these sacrificial animals up the last steep climb to the very door of the shrine, where it is killed and the blood sprinkled on and around the door in honor of the Wili. The shaikh is said then to "ḥenni al-bâb," or redden the door with the blood. It is customary for the pilgrims to give the servant of the shrine the skins and "debâsh," or appurtenances, of the sacrifices.

The use of this term "ḥenni" (to color with the red powder of the ḥenni plant) is evidently a concession to the prejudices of orthodox Islam. Otherwise the natural term would have been "yamsaḥ," or "anoint" with the blood.

(*See Chapter X*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Deep gorge en route to Great High Place

But orthodox Islam carefully avoids all recognition of any virtue in the application of the sacrificial blood as such. The practice of ritual shedding of blood, which long antedated Islam, the latter faith, notwithstanding its puritan zeal, has been unable to prevent, in thousands of cases, up to the present day. Orthodox Islam has, however, succeeded in greatly obscuring the early Semitic emphasis on the magical or supernatural virtue of the blood, which was made so central in the previous ritual. The clever substitution, at Petra, of the neutral term, to "color," for the significant term "yamsaḥ," or "anoint," the root of the title Messiah, is a striking example of the determination of the Moslem leaders to eliminate the earlier heathen interpretation inherent in the ancient ceremonies which Islam, as well as Christianity, has taken over at so many of these one time polytheistic shrines.

Custom permits of sacrifices to Nabi Harûn, at other times of the year; they may be killed and eaten in the towns. These, equally with the pilgrim's offering at the shrine itself, are considered as " 'asha" to Harûn, and from them the old servant of the maḳâm, Ḥasan al-Musri, receives his dues whenever it is possible for him to be present; or the equivalent of them in some form, at a later date, which are given him "karâmet an-Nabi Harûn," or in honor of the prophet Aaron. Shaikh Ḥasan serves as a center of organization for these various annual pilgrimages, and he takes good care that rival parties do not meet at the same date on Mt. Hor, and that not more than one procession, at a time, shall demand the use of the cooking utensils belonging to the shrine.

In all that has been mentioned thus far of the religious practices connected with the shrine on Mt. Hor, there is nothing that differs essentially from the usages connected with any other of the scores of great shrines in Syria to which vows and pilgrimages are made. In some towns, however, where the orthodox Moslem 'Ulema are powerful, all sprinkling of the sacrificial blood about the local shrines is forbidden. This explains why some of the more intelligent townspeople at Ma'ân, and elsewhere, will be found to deny strenuously that the blood is used in any way on Mt. Hor. But the evidence to the contrary is conclusive.

The second division of the population of the district, as classified above—that of the small Bedouin clans or remnants of former tribes—shows its veneration for Nabi Harûn in at least one way that would be utterly repudiated by orthodox Islam. From among this class a typical case is that of the Bedûd Arabs, who thirty years ago exercised undisputed sway over the valley and ruins of Petra. So powerful were they that they made it impossible for any traveler to visit the site of the ancient city without paying them heavy toll. The fall of this robber tribe is due to several causes, not the least of which is the heavy hand of the Turkish government which ultimately controlled the whole district west of the new Hejâz Railroad. All that the traveler now sees of this once haughty tribe is a wretched handful of beggars who haunt the camp with relics to sell, and who quarrel over the scraps and the tin cans which are thrown out from the cook's tent. However wretched this tribe has become, it has great interest for the archæologist, as it has preserved for him one of the most important proofs of the one-time dominant position in the worship of the district, of the shrine on Mt. Hor.

On the western side of the ruins of Petra, in the district lying between "Ḳasr Fir 'aûn" and "the serpent altar," there are several cemeteries used by the Bedûd Arabs and other small Bedouin groups, who, like the Bedûd, never leave the district, and are gradually taking to agriculture.

One universal requirement of Islam, as the student of that faith knows, is that the shrine of the Ka'aba in Mecca shall be made the "Kiblah" or point toward which the face of every living Moslem is directed while in prayer, and toward which, for the same reason, the face of every dead Moslem is turned as his body is laid in the grave. The traveler will notice, accordingly, that in all Moslem cemeteries in Syria the graves run east and west, so that the body, as it is laid on its right side, may face southward to the all-dominant shrine of Mecca. Islam, while incorporating many diverse elements in its system, unifies the whole of its ritual by this simple and practical expedient of making one shrine supreme in every phase of Mohammedan worship. Indeed the dominance of the Ka'aba shrine has become the practical physical expression of belief in the unity of God as well as in the supremacy of the prophet of Mecca. This recognition of the Ka'aba in prayer and in the burial customs of the people gradually came to be the chief practical test by which the victory of Islam over heathenism and other faiths was to be measured. In this respect Islam has proved a more powerful foe to heathenism than has even Oriental Christianity. The latter has never been able to eradicate the still more ancient custom of prayer toward the east, toward which point, also, the faces of the dying are carefully turned by all old-fashioned Oriental Christians. The Moslems, of course, turn the faces of the dying toward the south. In Syria, at least, instances of prayer, among the Moslems, directed toward other shrines than that of Mecca are now very rare indeed. This statement has no reference to the simple devotions of suppliants when standing in the immediate presence of some saint's tomb, but refers solely to prayers spoken at a distance from the geographical point toward which they are directed. Even more rare is a Moslem tomb which is not constructed so as to cause the face of the occupant to be laid with the eyes directed toward Mecca.

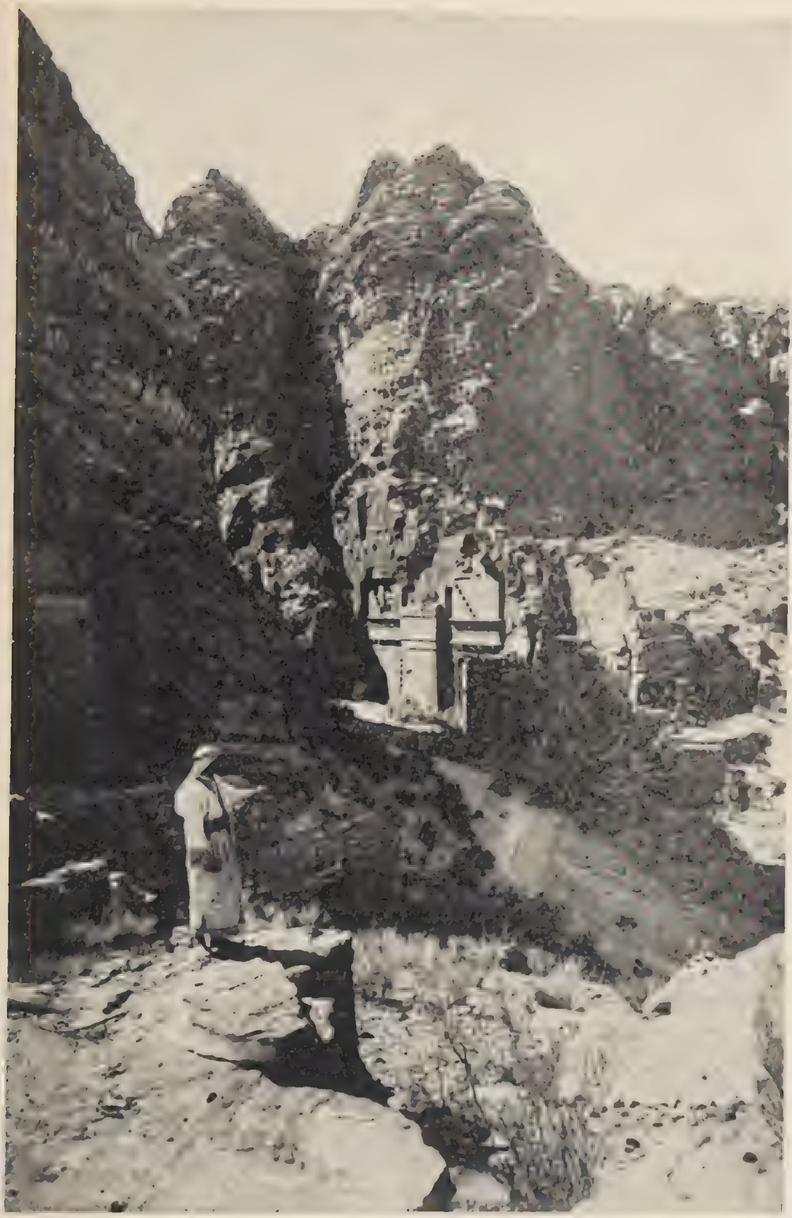
These considerations impart a unique significance to the evidence from Petra that for the Bedouin inhabiting its ruins the Ka'aba is not the supreme shrine. In the cemeteries of Bedûd Arabs, and of other Bedouin buried near them, the more primitive custom still prevails of recognizing the supremacy of the local shrine. Accordingly their graves are constructed at right angles to a line drawn from Mt. Hor to each grave, wherever the latter is placed, and the bodies are laid with the face directed, *not to the Ka'aba,* but to Nabi Harûn. At the town of Wâdi Mûsa, or Alji as it is called by the Bedouin, there may be seen in the one large cemetery, part of the graves constructed east and west, in the orthodox fashion; and others, strange to say, running nearly north and south so as to recognize the supremacy of Nabi Harûn. The latter appear to be the graves of such Bedouin subdivisons as the Felaḥât, Hilâlat, Hasenât, Thelamîn, Khalâ'fi, and others, numbers of whom now live in the village.

It is a commonplace remark of those who travel among the Bedouin, that the forms of religion sit lightly on the desert Arab. A more profound observer would say that the simple forms of their heathen ancestral worship survive, in the practice of the desert tribes, to a greater extent than among the people of the settled districts. The survival of ancient usages is perfectly consistent, at the same time, with the fact that every Bedouin quite sincerely regards himself as a faithful follower of Mohammed.

In speaking with the Bedûd Arabs about their customs, the writer found that those of them who had come more in contact with the orthodox Islam of the village mosques were prompt to deny any variation from the Mohammedan ritual, but others freely acknowledged that the bodies of their dead were laid facing Nabi Harûn. The undeniable testimony of the graves themselves, constructed with no regard to the direction of Mecca, but only to that of Mt. Hor, furnished absolute confirmation of the statement that, in their burial customs, the Petra Bedouin recognize the supremacy of Nabi Harûn to the exclusion of the Ka'aba.

In the third class, mentioned at the beginning of this article, of those who venerate the shrine on Mt. Hor, are included the great Bedouin tribe of the Ḥuwaitât, and other smaller but equally nomadic groups such as the Nu'aimat and others, whose migrations in search of pasture take them annually in and out of the Petra district. Members of these tribes who died while in the district are carefully buried at the foot of Mt. Hor, with their faces in the direction of its shrine, and without reference to the orthodox claims of the shrine of the Ka'aba. In this respect the usage of the roving Ḥuwaitât, is the same as that of the semi-nomadic Bedûd of the Petra valley, and Sa'îdîyeh of the 'Arabah plain to the west.

These migrating tribes testify to their regard for Harûn by another practice peculiar to the Bedouin herdsman. They bring their flocks each year to Nabi Harûn for his blessing. For this purpose it is not necessary to take the flock to the very top of the mountain, though this is sometimes done. Usually the flock visits, instead, one of two selected points which are more easily reached than Mt. Hor, but from which a full view may be obtained of its shrine. The most convenient, for the Ḥuwaitât, of these two points, or subsidiary shrines as they may be called, is situated on a high shoulder of the range of mountains east of the Petra valley and more than an hour beyond the temple of the Dair. This place is named Sulaisil by the Bedouin, and to it thousands of sheep are brought annually that Harûn may protect them from disease and render them fruitful. Each



(*See Chapter V*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Tombs in the Lower Sîḳ, between the Khazneh and the Theater flock is marched up an easy incline to the edge of a bold bluff, from which the sheep look across a deep gorge and are supposed to gaze at the distant peak of Mt. Hor crowned with the white shrine of Aaron. One of the animals is then sacrificed and the blood applied to a small rude building on the Sulaisil promontory. The Bedouin refer to Sulaisil as a "Muṣallalah," or place of prayer, but at the same time they clearly regard it as possessing no virtue independently of the shrine on Mt. Hor.

To erect such subsidiary shrines, for the convenience of worshipers who cannot go all the way to the great high places, is a well-recognized Semitic custom of which many instances survive to-day in Syria. These subordinate shrines are almost invariably situated at some point from which an unobstructed view can be obtained of the great shrine itself, even though the latter should be miles away. Often there is little external sign of their religious significance about these lesser shrines, nevertheless a visit to them confers all the benefits of a visit to the great high place. A striking example of such an arrangement is at Palmyra where, in the side of the great triumphal arch, the writer saw a rude Moslem prayer flag planted between the stones. He asked the townspeople if that spot was a Wili. He was informed that it only marked the place where people usually stood when they prayed to the Wili on a desert mountain many hours distant, yet plainly in view from the foot of the arch.

The other "Muṣallalah" or shrine subsidiary to the Wili on Mt. Hor, is a low hill a little west of the foot of Mt. Hor, between it and Jabal "Muthailiji." This hill is called Farâsheh. The writer was able to visit Farâsheh, but not Sulaisil. There are no signs of anything like a building on Farâsheh, except that, embedded in the earthen flat top of the hill, were the foundations of a low broad wall which ran around three sides of a small court similar in size and shape to the flat courts connected with so many of the altars of Petra, but unlike them in not being cut out of the solid rock. Although the stones were rough and unhewn, they were very skillfully laid in the soil so as to make a low, broad, square-cornered, straight-sided parapet, which bounded three sides of a parallelogram or court with its opening at the farthest end from Mt. Hor. The structure was evidently very ancient, and, as far as could be learned, the Bedouin take no account of it in their devotions.

Shaikh Sulaimân al-Fagîr, of the Bedûd Arabs, who guided the writer to Farâsheh, clearly used the term "Muṣallalah," not of a built shrine, but of a geographical point from which worship was rendered to the distant shrine. He declared emphatically that neither the presence of a building, as at Sulaisil, nor the absence of it, as at Farâsheh, made any difference in the use of the term "Muṣallalah" by the Arabs. The term seems to be a local dialectic form. Small parties of Bedouin, from far and near, often fulfill vows to Harûn by sacrificing an animal on the top of Farâsheh, from which point they can look up to the prophet's tomb on its commanding site far above them.

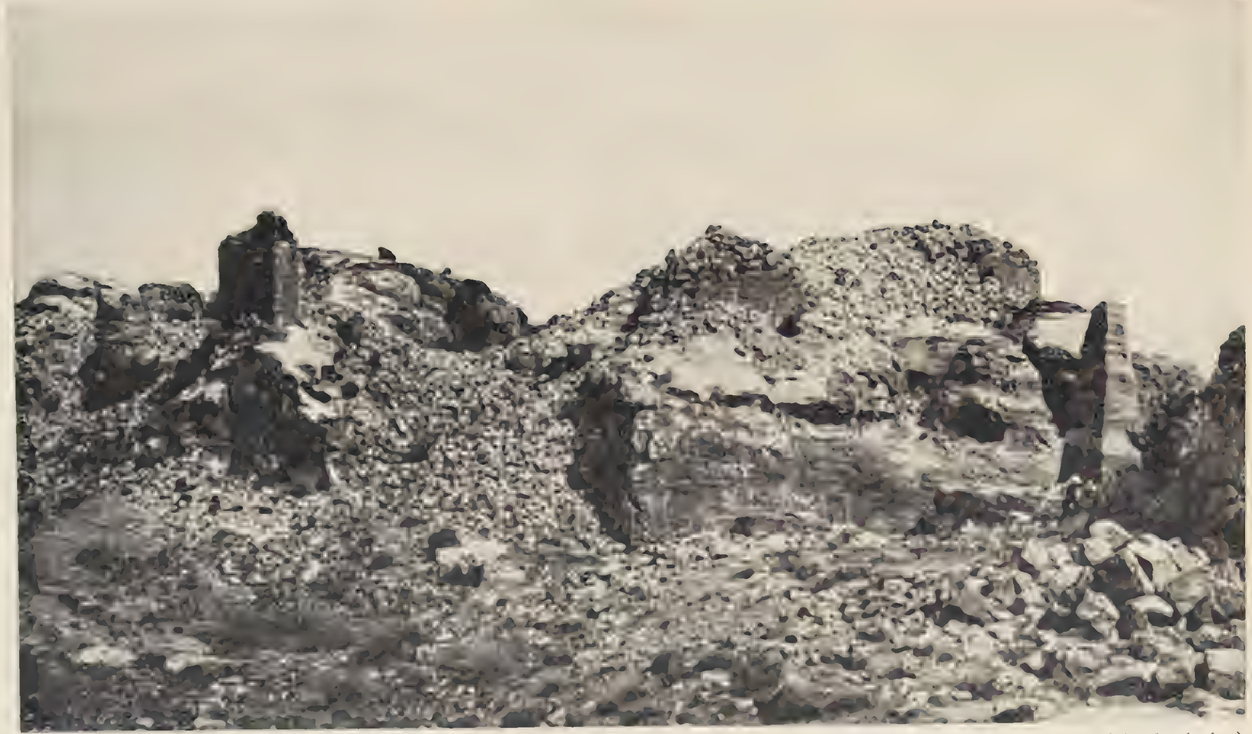
It is interesting to note that worshipers of Nabi Harûn standing on these two "Muṣallalahs" or prayer-stations, one to the east and the other to the west of Mt. Hor, would find themselves looking into each other's faces, could they see over the sacred peak which rears its mass between them. There seems to the writer to be little doubt that here we have the clue to much that has seemed mysterious in the altar system of ancient Petra. Wherever there is an altar constructed on a point from which it is possible to view Mt. Hor, it will be found that the altar, in so far as its original shape can be determined to-day, has been constructed so that it faced directly toward Mt. Hor. The direction in which an altar may be correctly said to "look" is the direction in which a person ascending the altar steps will look as he gazes straight across the altar in front of him. By applying this test, it will be seen that the shrine on the peak of Mt. Hor dominates the chief altars of the ancient city. In short, these altars may have served the same purpose as the present-day "Muṣallalahs" of the Bedouin, i.e., they were geographical points from which the ancient inhabitants could conveniently express their veneration for the central shrine on Mt. Hor and could implore the blessing of its deity.

Altars constructed on lower points in the ancient city will, on the other hand, almost without exception, be found to point directly to someone or other of the great altars from which Mt. Hor can be seen. The writer would suggest that here is a further illustration of the same idea. If there was virtue in looking, from selected and lofty sites, away toward the central shrine on Mt. Hor, in the ritual of other sites, of a lower level, where it was physically impossible to see Mt. Hor, there may have been virtue for the worshiper in looking at an intermediate shrine or altar which could reflect the *borrowed* sanctity secured by an unobstructed view of the sacred mountain shrine.

The great importance of physical and geographical direction as an aid to the expression of religious ideas is a constant feature of Semitic religious history. In the stage of Semitic thought represented by the altars of Petra, it seems to have been the case that an intermediate geographical site (i.e., one from which a still higher and more important place of worship could be viewed) came to be regarded as possessing a borrowed virtue, which could in turn be imparted to worshipers far below who looked up to this intermediate altar site. At least this theory is the only one that seems to explain the relative position and direction of the altar sites on the different levels of Petra, and it naturally suggests itself as an extension by analogy of the "Muṣallalah" practice of the present day. However this may be, the practice of a Daniel in looking across intervening deserts to the great shrine at Jerusalem, or of the Moslem worshiper toward the shrine of Ka'aba, both mark a great advance in religious thought and in the power to free faith from the bondage of immediate physical vision and contact.

The last feature to be noted here of the present-day Arab attitude toward the shrine of Nabi Harûn is one which has not been observed by the writer elsewhere. The ascent of Mt. Hor is always made from the west, and numerous roads lead up from the plain to the foot of the mountain. On any of these, at the first turn in the road which commands a full view of the shrine standing far above on the summit, the traveler will notice a number of circular mounds of small stones carefully piled together so as to make slender cones two or three feet high. When first seen, these curious heaps of stone were supposed by some of our party to be either landmarks or guides for processions of pilgrims, or possibly even to be the work of children at play. But on inquiry from the Arabs it was learned that these conical mounds served a religious purpose, and that the name "Muṣallalah" was also given to each spot where they stood. We were informed that parties of worshipers, in approaching Mt. Hor, would stop at the first turn in the road from which they could see the white walls and dome of the shrine, and would there pray to Nabi Harûn. These sugar loaf structures of small stones were then erected, by the worshipers, all about the place where they had prayed. Each party of pilgrims is thus reminded of the opportunity for prayer, and, in its turn, repairs these cones or erects new ones. Professor Day informed the writer that on the road from Shaubak, a good hour from Petra, at the first point from which a full view of Mt. Hor and its shrine is possible, he noticed peculiar heaps of stone similar to these, and wondered as to their significance. As far as could be learned from Shaikh Sulaimân al-Fagîr, these rude imitations of obelisks were associated by the Bedouin mind, in some way, with the prayers offered to Harûn. They seemed to have a certain sacramental value as symbolic of the pilgrim's attitude of worship, but it must be remembered that the Bedouin mind furnishes scanty basis for theological interpretation.

It is not improbable that we have here a vestige of a very ancient Edomite custom by which obelisk figures, whether in the form of the decorations to be seen so frequently on the tombs, or as independent structures, were associated in a symbolic or sacramental way with acts of worship. In fact it would not be surprising if the presence of the two obelisks on the lower platform of Jabal Farasa, near "the great high place," should yet be traced to the influence of this custom. If this should be their origin, they do not represent any particular pair of deities, as has been inferred by so many modern writers from the mention of two images in Petra by the Greek writer Suidas. There is some slight indication that there were originally more than these two obelisks standing in the same open space, and it is a suggestive coincidence, to say the least, that the processions of pilgrims who centuries ago ascended by the great stone galleries and staircases to worship at "the great high place," would gain their first full view of Mt. Hor and its shrine from this very platform where the two surviving obelisks stand to-day. If these rude pyramids represented the two chief deities of the region, their subordinate position in reference to the great altar of the adjoining "high place," is almost inexplicable. But if that altar, itself, is subsidiary to the high place on Mt. Hor, and if these obe-



(See Chapter X)

(Photograph by the Author)

Maẓẓebah and castle ruins, near Great High Place lisks possessed a merely sacramental signification as marking a prayer station of the ascending pilgrims, then they would most appropriately stand, as do the present-day little "Muṣallalah" heaps of stone, at the first turn in the road from which the all-dominating shrine of Mt. Hor could be seen and adored. The well-known fact that in several places east of the Jordan obelisks were erected at the shrines of different Arab deities would seem to be in line with this sacramental interpretation of the obelisk structures of Petra whether ancient or modern.

From these details of present Arab practice, so briefly outlined, the reader may be able to gather some of the leading principles of the worship that has been rendered for millenniums to the deity of this great Edomite high place on Mt. Hor.

A great field of investigation still remains at Petra for the careful student of Bedouin and local folklore; and from this source it may well be that clues will be provided, in the future, for the solution of many a strange problem suggested by the intricate system of high places which has so recently been brought to the attention of scholars.

III

THE EDOMITES

XXII

ESAU, THE FATHER OF EDOM

THE name of Esau does not occur in the roll of Old Testament worthies who "died in faith," recorded in the Epistle to the Hebrews (chapter 11). On the contrary, the author of that Epistle warns his readers, "Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau, who for one mess of meat sold his own birthright. For ye know that even when he afterward desired to inherit the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place for a change of mind in his father, though he sought it diligently with tears" (Heb. 12:16, 17). Notwithstanding, few characters in the Bible are quite as interesting, few so like ourselves.

Esau and his twin brother Jacob were God's answer to prayer. "Isaac entreated Jehovah for his wife, because she was barren: and Jehovah was entreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived." (Gen. 25:21).[1]

His parents were of very different temperaments. Isaac was reposeful, inactive, contemplative; being regarded by some as "the Wordsworth of the Old Testament." He appears at best when a boy; when old and blind he became a tool in the hands of his friends and a prey to childish taste; he loved venison and wine. Rebekah was the stronger of the two. As a character, she is most fascinating: energetic, quick, shrewd, audacious, persistent, ambitious—not however for herself, but for her favorite son. As a schemer she was more than a match for her husband; yet withal Isaac's worthy complement, her eager, active spirit being wonderfully well adapted to his retiring cast of mind. Esau inherited her recklessness and haste; Jacob her cunning and craft. Before the children were born, she went to a shrine, perhaps to Beersheba, to pray. And Jehovah answered her by an oracle:

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[1] The Hebrew word used here for "entreat" is *'athar,* from which we get, through the Arabic, "attar" (of roses); prayer being conceived of as incense rising like sweet perfume before God (cf. Ex. 10:18; Judg. 13:8).

> Two nations are in thy womb,
> And two peoples shall be separated from thy bowels:
> And the one people shall be stronger than the other people;
> And the elder shall serve the younger. (Gen. 25:23.)

The distinction between the children as yet unborn seems to be a national one; like that of the prophet Malachi when he declares, "I loved Jacob; but Esau I hated" (Mal. 1:2, 3). Indeed, some scholars are disposed to treat Esau not as a real person, but merely as a type; the whole story of Jacob and Esau being by them regarded as a reflection of the historical relations of the two peoples Israel and Edom. "Esau is Edom" (Gen. 36:8). But,

> if so [as Davidson sagely remarks] the historian who depicted his own people as crafty, unscrupulous, and godly, and their bitterest enemy as the careless, noble, natural man, was a humorous satirist of the highest rank. Historically the satire must be judged less than just to his own people, and more than partial to Edom.

Strachan also observes,

> Neither Esau nor Jacob can be regarded as a mere epitome of social characteristics. A really creative literary power does not produce types but persons, who may or may not afterward seem to be the representatives of a class or people. Their difference in temper and character can only be explained on the theory that it is the record, keener, deeper, and more tragic, of an individual.

The contrasts between Esau and Jacob are marked from their infancy. Esau was "red," that is, ruddy and hairy, suggestive of his sensual animal career. Jacob, even before his birth, showed an over-reaching disposition by catching the heel of his brother, as if striving to hold him back from his rightful priority. Esau was an ideal huntsman, shaggy, brawny, fearless, impetuous. Jacob was timid, pastoral, home-loving, and quiet. Esau was a man of the field; Jacob dwelt in tents. Esau cared only for a merry life; Jacob was intent on the pursuit of gain. Esau had the disposition of a spendthrift; Jacob that of a miser.

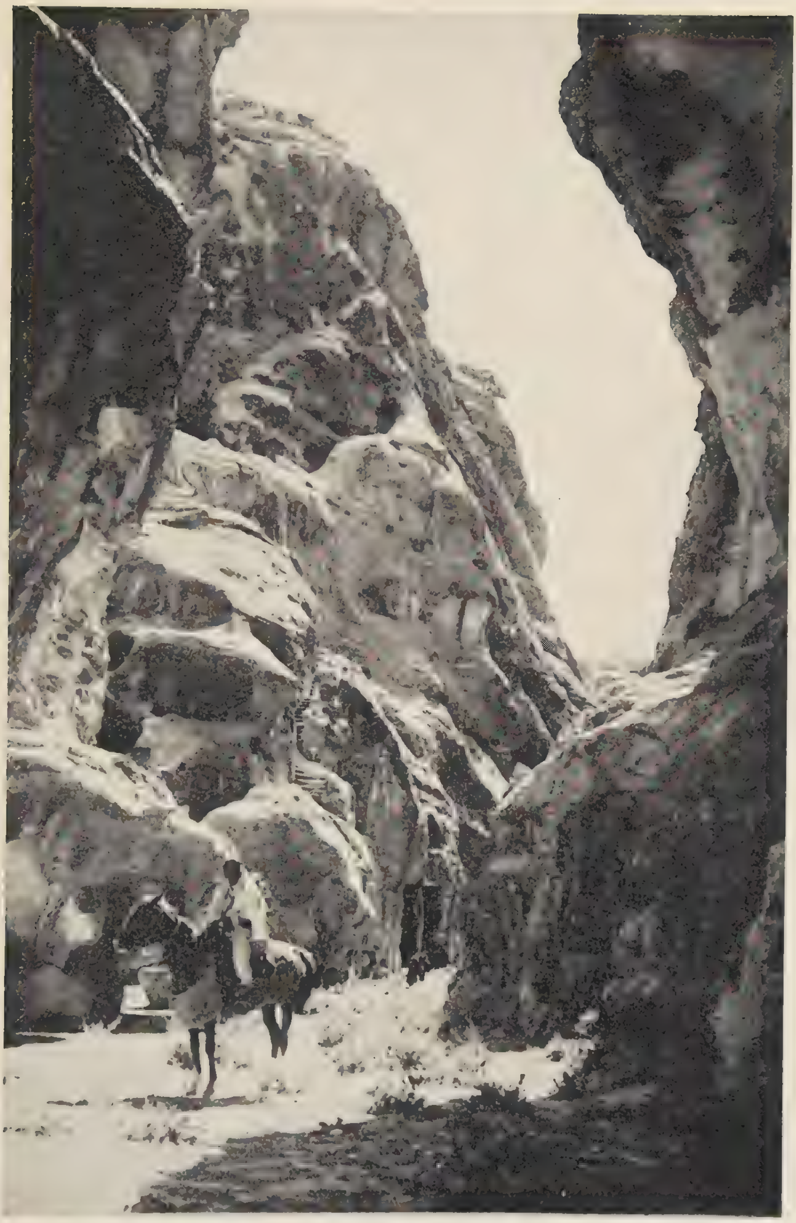
(*See Chapter X*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Court of Great High Place, looking north

Other contrasts became manifest through Esau's sale of his birthright. The story is brief (only ninety-four words in Hebrew), but graphic (Gen. 25:27-34). Returning faint from the chase Esau finds Jacob boiling pottage and begs to be fed. Jacob consents to share his evening meal with Esau on condition that he sell him his birthright. Esau being weary, and fancying that he is about to die from hunger, promises to do so. Jacob cautiously exacts an oath from him to bind the bargain. Esau eats and goes his way, despising his birthright. According to an ancient Jewish legend Abraham died on the day Esau sold his birthright!

This important transaction reveals the diversity of their characters. Esau was a man of the present; Jacob a man of the future. Esau lacked imagination; Jacob's thoughts were ever on the morrow. Esau was a type of the natural man; Jacob of the spiritual. Esau was a "profane" man, that is, secular, not blasphemous, but open, and unguarded. The Greek word means "that which may be trodden," being applied by the ancients to public ground outside sacred enclosures; hence, as our English word "profane," etymologically suggests, that which is "in front of the fane," or temple; in other words, territory unconsecrated and unfenced. Such was Esau: Jacob on the contrary was a religious man, a man of faith, always aspiring to a standing with God. To Esau religion came to mean nothing; to Jacob everything. Esau was shallow and fickle, to-day despising his birthright, to-morrow weeping over its loss—a living illustration of the truth of the dictum that "Hell is truth seen too late." Jacob on the contrary was constant, persistent, even doggedly tenacious, his life's motto being, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me" (Gen. 32:26).

Our sympathies naturally go out to Esau, who is the more engaging character of the two; but we must not be misled by the superficial attractions of his life. At heart he was a Canaanite. The animal in his nature greatly preponderated over the moral. He was a slave to his senses, rough, self-willed, untamed, carnal, sensual, godless. He indulged in the most extravagant feelings about himself. He was not really so faint that he was "about to die"! He had none



(*See Chapter IV*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Rock-cut stairways in cliffs of al-Bârid of the great faults of Jacob but also none of his capacity for greatness. He was free-handed, affectionate, forgiving, but insensible to high ideals. Everybody probably knew that his birthright was for sale long before he actually sold it. He possessed materials out of which a noble character might have been developed, but he squandered them for a mess of meat, dominated by impulse rather than by principle. Esau had no appreciation of the invisible.

Jacob, on the other hand, with all his faults, was susceptible to the divine guidance. Though coarse, he possessed a strong religious vein. Though keen and competitive, he had within him the seed of life. Jacob had capacity for religion. To the narrator the heedless "profanity" of Esau was far more blameworthy than the self-seeking greed of Jacob. 'Tis true Jacob sold what most brothers would have given, but Esau's feeble self-control allowed appetite to fix the price of a gnawing hunger which demanded gratification at any cost. It is Esau's despising his birthright which stamps him as reckless, short-sighted, superficial, stupid. Had the birthright been a mess of meat he would not have parted with it. "A copper held to the eye may shut out the sun." [1]

Yet Isaac loved Esau, who was his opposite; whereas, Rebekah loved Jacob, who was her image. Mischief usually follows parental partiality.

Esau married Hittite wives—Judith and Basemath (Gen. 26:34). This was another blunder. They were heathen and therefore beneath him. Heathenism has never produced a very exalted type of womanhood. Rebekah was sorely tried by these "daughters of Heth." Yet his marriage was promoted by no passionate impulse of the moment any more than was the sale of his birthright. In his rovings he had associated freely with the Hittites, though he knew that they were "strangers to the covenant of promise," eating and drinking, sacrificing, and eventually vowing with them. His ideals were low. "A man's choice in his marriage, more than anything else in his life, makes it manifest what that man is, and where his heart is."

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[1] James Black, in his recent book, *Rogues of the Bible,* 1930, gives a different slant on Esau's selling his birthright. He says: "Both Jacob and Esau knew that the transaction they were carrying through was an acted comedy (p. 31). Esau's sin was not that he sold the birthright, but that he sold it in a mock deal, and joked profanely about his great spiritual privileges" (p. 37)!

At length Isaac grew old and thought he was going to die. As a matter of fact he lived some forty-three years after this. Calling Esau, Isaac requested that he bring him one more mess of venison that he might bless him before he should die. Not forgetting, but ignoring the bargain with Jacob, Esau obeys (Gen. 27:5); but Rebekah intervenes and successfully thwarts the old man's bold attempt to bless his favorite son. At his mother's hazardous suggestion to play the hypocrite, Jacob at first demurs, but a little later demonstrates that he is a past master in the art of deception. Says Luther in commenting upon the transaction, "Had it been me, I'd have dropped the dish" (Gen. 27:24).

The blessing itself is a charming little poem, rhythmic in its flow, poetic in its ideas, and suggestive of the superior value of a first-born's inheritance.

See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed;
And God give thee of the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of grain and new wine;
Let peoples serve thee,
And nations bow down to thee:
Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:
Cursed be every one that curseth thee,
And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.
(Gen. 27:27-29.)

In this blessing intended for the first-born were included a field (Canaan), the dew of heaven, the fatness of the earth, plenty of grain and new wine, and the homage of the nations; with a final imprecation on those who might curse Jacob and a blessing upon those who bless him. All these were regarded as gifts of God and therefore spiritual. To the Hebrews, indeed, there was nothing secular. As the birthright benediction it probably also involved the right of succession, the headship of the family, patriarchal authority, a double portion of the patrimony (Deut. 21:17), the domestic priesthood (Num. 3:12), and spiritual primacy as the mediator of the covenant and as minister in holy things: in short, rich promises, great and precious, were included in the right of primogeniture and were within Esau's reach; but he flung them all away in his folly for present gratification. Covenant privileges and responsibilities to him had no special value. Indeed he spoke of his birthright with frank contempt. He was a genuine heathen at heart, for in despising his birthright he was despising God.

Esau soon discovered his loss, however; Isaac too became disillusioned. When Esau returned from his hunt and brought in his savory dish of real venison, his father, learning of Jacob's deception, "trembled very exceedingly" (Gen. 27:33). Isaac now perceived that he had done wrong, that he had been tampering with God's will, and that the divine hand was in Jacob's plot. Accordingly he made no attempt to cancel his promise, though having been deceived he might easily have found excuse; for to *Jacob* he had really promised nothing. On the contrary, he adhered to his promise and nerved himself to stand as a flint; "yea, and he shall be blessed." A mysterious and solemn sacredness was attached to his words, once uttered.

Esau, the sensuous, wild, impulsive hunter, cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, shrieking like an entrapped animal. But deeds done are irrevocable; Isaac would not repent. He turned a deaf ear to his son's frenzied entreaties; for Esau "found no place for a change of mind in his father, though he sought it diligently with tears." The scene is pathetic! Esau now wished to undo his act; he wished to cancel the hasty bargain which he had formerly made, the logical effects of which now gripped him; but it was too late. The word spoken could not be changed.

(See Chapter X) *(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)*

Two altars of Great High Place, looking west

Esau weeps, but his wail is but the bitter cry of a disappointed and enraged child. As Omar Khayyam puts it:

> The moving finger writes; and having writ,
> Moves on; nor all thy piety nor wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

He lost the coveted blessing because he had despised the birthright. His sale of the latter and his loss of the former were but two sides of the same transaction. He despised his birthright of promise, but not his blessing of supremacy. As Keble solemnly sings:

> We barter life for pottage: sell true bliss,
> For wealth, or power, for pleasure or renown;
> Thus, Esau-like, our Father's blessing miss,
> Then wash with fruitless tears our faded crown.

When all hope of obtaining the first-born's benediction was gone Esau begs for another. He is now willing to be content with a second-rate blessing. So his father reluctantly bestows upon him all that remains—all that Esau is capable of appreciating:

> Behold, of the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
> And of the dew of heaven from above;
> And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;
> And it shall come to pass, when thou shalt break loose,
> That thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck.
>
> (Gen. 27:39, 40.)

In two respects Esau's blessing resembles that bestowed upon Jacob, but in matters essential it differs widely. It includes the fatness of the earth (Edom is indeed fertile in spots) and the dew of heaven, but not abundance of grain and new wine. And instead of national supremacy it points to national servitude; with this mitigation, however, that eventually he will break Jacob's yoke from off his neck. There is nothing of bliss in the benediction, or covenant blessing from Jehovah! Indeed the name of deity does not occur in it. The silent implication is that Esau will enjoy God's gifts without God. Rather, by his sword he shall live, plundering and being plundered. What a tragic foreshadowing of the future! "By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau even concerning things to come" (Heb. 11:20). Esau's descendants will become a nation fierce and cruel—without religion!

And so they did. Josephus speaks of the Edomites as "a turbulent and unruly race, always hovering on the verge of revolution; always rejoicing in changes, easily roused to arms, and rushing into battle as if going to a feast."

Among Esau's descendants are the Doegs, the Hamans, the Hadads, and the Herods of Scripture (cf. 1 Sam. 21:7; 22:18; Esth. 3:1, 6; 1 Kings 11:14-22; Matt. 2:16). For example, Herod the Great, the semi-barbarian, at one time devoted to his family, a little later turning against them in jealousy; the worshiper of Mariamne, but also in a savage fit of jealousy her murderer. Herod Antipas, who heard John the Baptist gladly and then slew him. Herod Agrippa, who scorned the thought of becoming "a Christian" and ever remained, so far as we know, half Jew, half heathen (Acts 26:28). As a race, the Edomites never did very much to further the providential purpose of God; they were rich enough in dukes and kings, but they added little to the world's real progress.

When Esau first learned of Jacob's deceit in securing the birthright benediction, passion filled his heart; but especially when he recognized the mediocre value of his second-rate blessing, malice, vindictiveness and revenge possessed him. Seized with a fratricidal impulse, he resolved impetuously to slay his brother. Whereupon, Jacob speedily betakes himself to his uncle Laban in Paddan-aram. Twenty years pass, during which the brothers grow apart. Jacob marries, becomes the head of a great household, and the possessor of immense numbers of cattle and sheep. Esau migrates to Edom and soon rises to the position of a Bedouin chief, a duke or shaikh among the Troglodytes of Mount Seir. In foolish simplicity, and as a last resort perhaps, hoping possibly still to please his father and win a blessing of some worth, he marries his cousin Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael; but the virtue which he hoped thereby to add to his sullied life was mere imitation and effected nothing.

Finally, when Jacob returns from Paddan-aram, Esau goes out with four hundred men to meet him. Not, however, with hostile intent, for Esau was as changeful in his hatred as in his love. He lived in the passing moment. His blood quickly boiled and quickly cooled. He was easily reconciled. "Time is a great healer." Jacob approaches him with serious misgivings, and addresses him as "My lord Esau." The brother whom he before knew as a "hunter of stags" receives him now as a king. Jacob offers him rich tribute, but Esau refuses to accept of Jacob's present, saying that he has "enough." The wild and savage archer of the mountain fastnesses has obtained all that he ever wished—wives, children, wealth, honor, power. He has realized his ideal. He feels that he has "enough" (Gen. 33:9); but Jacob insists that he too has "enough" (33:11), and forces him to accept of his present. "The one has enough; the other has enough by the grace of God!" As Coster, in a rhyming couplet, puts it,

> I live for what these eyes can see:
> This happy earth's enough for me.

Esau was wholly secular. There is a Welsh proverb which runs: "Without God, without anything: with God and enough."

The two brothers met but once again, at their father's funeral; after which Esau left Canaan permanently and dwelt in Mount Seir: "Esau is Edom" (Gen. 36:8). Esau lacked imagination. Philo calls him "a wooden man." Jacob lived "by faith"; Esau by sight!

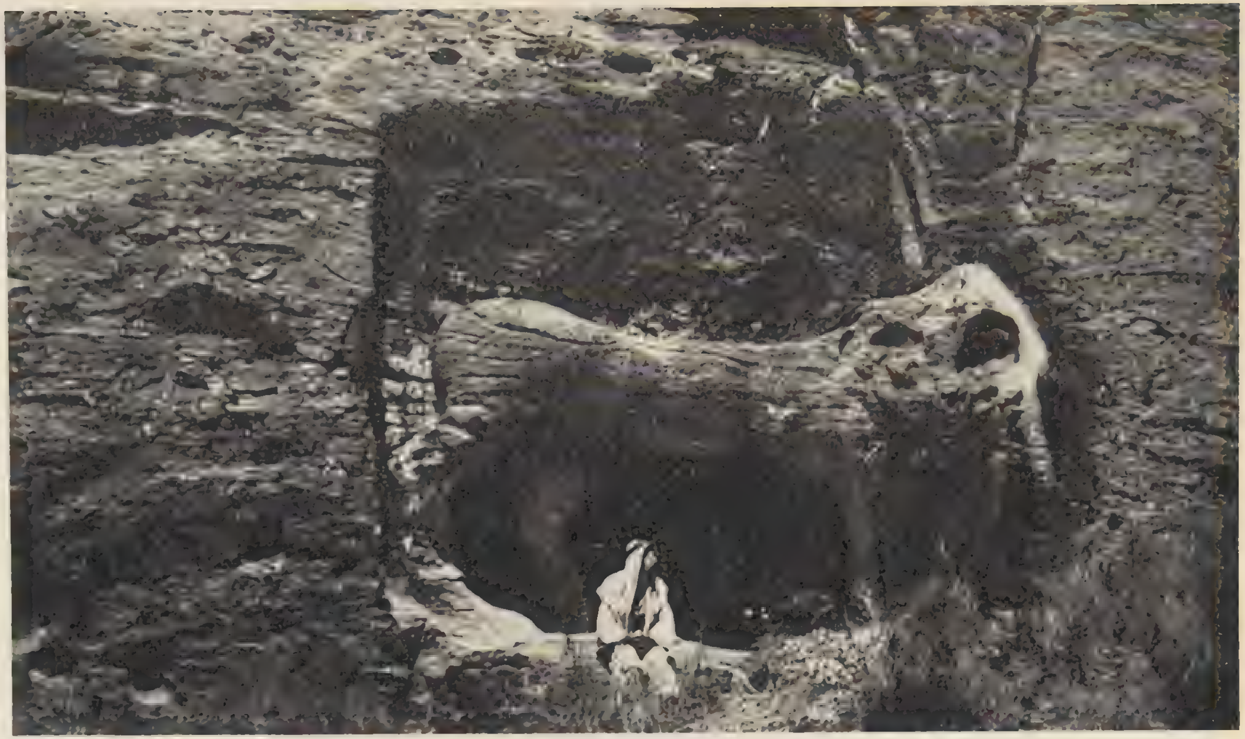
XXIII

THE HORITE ABORIGINES OF EDOM

When Esau and his sons migrated into Edom, they found the land already inhabited by a people whom in due time they either absorbed or extirpated. According to the book of Deuteronomy, in an antiquarian note of great historical interest, we read that "the Horites also dwelt in Seir aforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them; and they destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead" (Deut. 2:12).

According to Genesis 36:20 (cf. 1 Chron. 1:38), the great original ancestor of these aboriginal peoples was "Seir the Horite." Now, the earliest mention of the name "Seir" is in Genesis 14:6, in which it is stated that Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, a probable contemporary of Abraham, smote the Horites in a mountainous district named Seir. In these passages Seir is at least personified as the imaginary, or eponymous, ancestor of the then indigenous inhabitants of what we now call Edom; in the same manner as Asshur, Aram, Mizraim, Canaan and Javan are personified in Genesis 10. However, in process of time, these Seirites, or aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir, became known to their neighbors as "Horites," which eventually became their permanent national name.

The etymology of the name "Horites" throws light upon their social and national character. If, as many suppose, the name "Horite" is derived from the Hebrew word ḥor, meaning hole or cave, then the gentilic derivative Ḥori, and



(See Chapter VI) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

The lion monument, on a Farasa ledge, en route to Great High Place its plural Ḥorim (no one of which ever appears without the definite article) would signify Troglodytes, or cave dwellers. This derivation seems highly probable in view of the numerous caves and caverns with which Edom abounds. Burckhardt reports having seen in his travels, a century or more ago, "many natural caverns" at the mouth of the southern *Wâdi Gharândal.*[2] Doughty tells of exploring "limestone caverns" not far north of Petra near a place called Khidal.[3] While Palmer considers the caves and artificial caverns which he saw at al-Bârid, a suburb to the north of Petra, as the dwellings of an ancient people, and as undoubtedly of Horite origin, the excavations in this particular region being obviously all dwellings.[4] More recent explorers of Mount Seir corroborate these statements. Caves and caverns in general are known to have been the earliest of human habitations. Nature herself seems to have provided homes purposely for primitive man. Many of those in and about Petra and Shaubak continue till the present time to be used by the Bedouin who prefer them to their tents as winter abodes for themselves, and as stables for their flocks, and in some cases, as sepulchers for their dead. The prophet Jeremiah in his denunciation of Edom says, "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith Jehovah" (Jer. 49:16). And Jerome commenting on Obadiah, verse 6, assumed that the Edomites dwelt in the prophet's day in dens and subterranean caverns.[5]

[2] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* 1822, p. 441.

[3] *Arabia Deserta,* I, p. 39.

[4] *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872, p. 378.

[5] *Comm. ad Obad.*, 6: "et revera omnis australis regio Idumæorum de Eleutheropoli usque ad Petram et Ailam (hæc est enim possession Esau) in specubus habitationculas habet et propter nimios calores solis, quia meridiana provincia est, subterraneis tuguriis utitur."

On the other hand, some authorities doubt whether the Horite aborigines of Edom ever dwelt in caves.[6] And they argue that inasmuch as the etymology of the name Ḥori remains uncertain, it is quite possible that the Horites of Genesis 36 are to be identified with the Haru, who are frequently spoken of in Egyptian inscriptions as inhabiting southwestern Palestine.[7] For, the Egyptian name Haru can hardly be derived from the Hebrew word ḥor, cave.

But, inasmuch as this explanation is not in harmony with the view of the Hebrews, who evidently regarded the Horites as Troglodytes (cf. Jer. 49:16; Obad. 3), it is more probable that the name Ḥorim is an epithet expressing the idea which was entertained by their neighbors, the sons of Jacob, namely, that they dwelt in caves.[8]

We need not assume that they were giants in stature like the Rephaim or Anakim, or Emim who originally inhabited Moab (Deut. 2:10, 11). Macalister in describing the "cave dwellers" of whom he discovered traces in the mound of ancient Gezer, thinks the author in Deuteronomy 2:12 *contrasts* them with the Emim and Anakim who were accounted Rephaim, or giants. And he adds, "Certainly the aborigines of Gezer were not giants, their height being but an inch or two over five feet.[9] Having been accustomed to cremate their dead, there is nowhere any very tangible evidence that the Horites were giants.

But what of their history? Unfortunately very scanty materials remain out of which to construct an account of their history and civilization. Only a short genealogical section in Genesis 36:20-30 has been preserved to us. This section, however, though brief, contains a tradition of very great antiquity and is, therefore, a document of inestimable value. Levy, in his little brochure on the Horites, after tracing the history of these aboriginal tribes, as depicted on the monuments of ancient Egypt, arrives at the conclusion that "the list in Genesis is a faithful table of the people whom the Edomites displaced." [10]

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[6] So Jensen, *Zeitschrift zur Assyriologie*, 1895, pp. 332ff., 346ff.; W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 1893, pp. 137, 148ff.; and Baudissen, *Realencyclopedia*, V, Art., "Edom."

[7] So Maspero, *The Struggle of Nations*, 1897, p. 121.

[8] So Nöldeke, Art., "Edom," *Encyc. Biblica*, Col. 1183. The cave dwellers alluded to in Job 24:8; 30:6, according to Delitzsch (*Comm. on Gen.*, p. 244) were but a "gipsy-like, decayed remnant of the Horites."

[9] *Bible Side Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, 1906, p. 43; for a different view see the articles "Giant" and "Horites" by W. J. Beecher in *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible*, pp. 166, 415.

The section in Genesis obviously contains an ethnological catalogue of "the sons of Seir the Horite," enumerating his seven sons and twenty grandchildren, who doubtless represented the clans and families, respectively, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the land.[11]

The text of these Horite genealogies is as follows:

> These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land: Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah, and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the chiefs that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom. And the children of Lotan were Hori and Heman; and Lotan's sister was Timna. And these are the children of Shobal: Alvan and Manahath and Ebal, Shepho and Onam. And these are the children of Zibeon: Aiah and Anah; this is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father. And these are the children of Anah: Dishon and Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah. And these are the children of Dishon: Hemdan and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. These are the children of Ezer: Bilhan and Zaavan and Akan. These

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[10] *Les Horites, Edom et Jacob dans les Monuments Egyptiens*, 1906, p. 5.

[11] Skinner, in his *Comm. on Gen.*, p. 432, speaks of these as the autochthonous natives of the country.

(*See Chapter IV*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

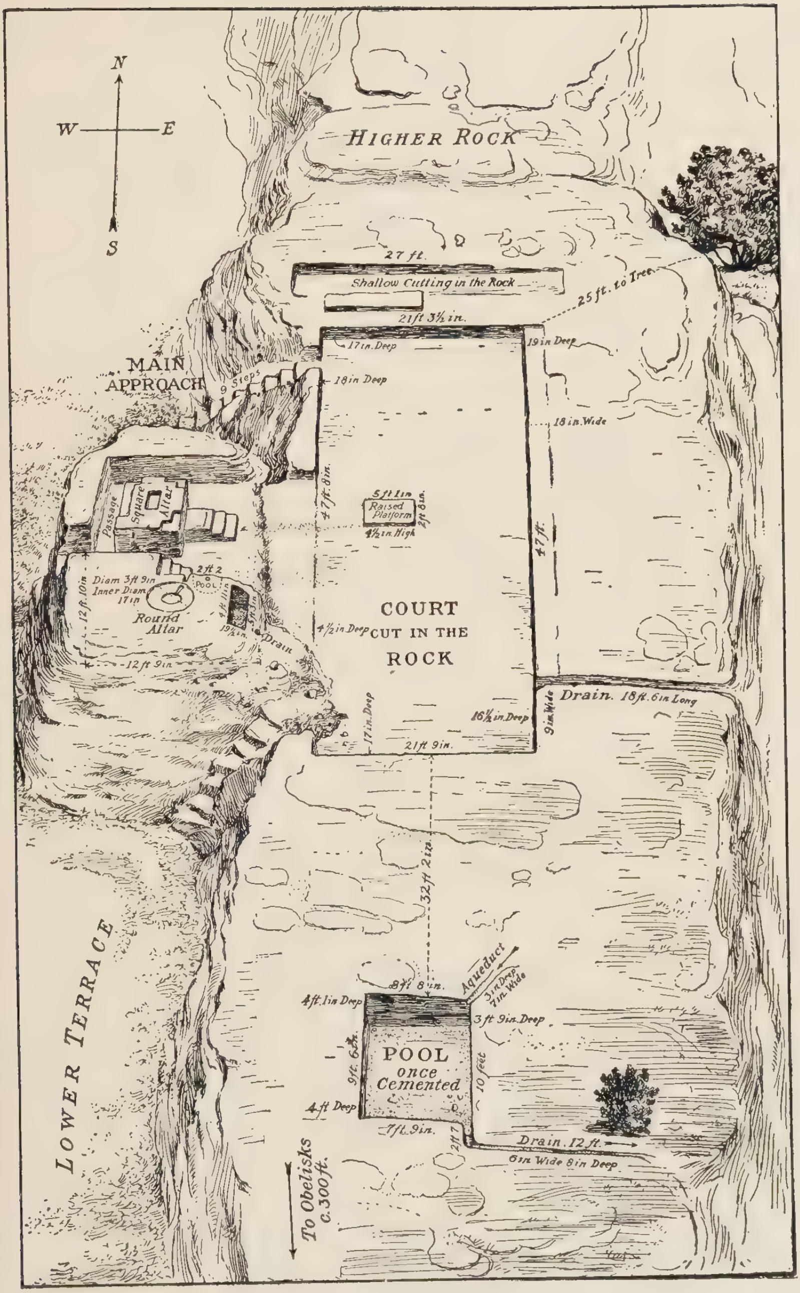
Temple of al-Bârid

are the children of Dishan: Uz and Aran. These are the chiefs that came of the Horites: chief Lotan, chief Shobal, chief Zibeon, chief Anah, chief Dishon, chief Ezer, chief Dishan: these are the chiefs that came of the Horites, according to their chiefs in the land of Seir (Gen. 36:20-30).

TABLE OF THE HORITE ABORIGINES OF EDOM

(Gen. 36:20-30)

Seir	(Chief) Lotan Timna his sister	Hori
		Heman (= Homan)
	(Chief) Shobal = (Lion)	Alvan (= Alian)
		Manahath
		Ebal
		Shepho (= Shephi)
		Onam
	(Chief) Zibeon = (Hyæna)	Aiah = (Hawk)
		Anah = (Wild ass)
	(Chief) Anah = (Wild ass)	Dishon = (Mountain goat)
		Oholibamah
	(Chief) Dishon = (Mt.-goat)	Hemdan (= Hamran)
		Eshban
		Ithran
		Cheran
	(Chief) Ezer	Bilhan
		Zaavan
		Akan (= Jaakan)
	(Chief) Dishan	Uz
		Aran = (Wild goat)


N
W
E
S
HIGHER ROCK
27 ft.
Shallow Cutting in the Rock
21 ft 3½ in.
25 ft. to Tree
17 in. Deep
19 in Deep
18 in Deep
18 in. Wide
MAIN APPROACH
9 Steps
Passage
Square Altar
47 ft. 8 in.
5 ft 1 in
Raised Platform
2 ft 8 in.
4½ in. High
47 ft.
2 ft 2
POOL
Diam 3 ft 9 in
Inner Diam 17 in
12 ft. 10 in.
Round Altar
4 ft 11 in
5 ft 3 in
19½ in.
Drain
12 ft 9 in
4½ in Deep
COURT CUT IN THE ROCK
Drain. 18 ft. 6 in Long
9 in. Wide
16½ in. Deep
17 in. Deep
21 ft 9 in.
32 ft 2 in.
8 ft 8 in.
Aqueduct
3 in Deep
7 in. Wide
4 ft. 1 in Deep
3 ft 9 in. Deep
POOL once Cemented
9 ft. 6 in.
10 feet
4 ft Deep
7 ft. 9 in.
2 ft 7
Drain. 12 ft.
6 in Wide 8 in Deep
LOWER TERRACE
To Obelisks c. 300 ft.

(See Chapter XI)

Great High Place

In this archaic list certain noteworthy statements are made, and implications involved: thus,

1. That the sons of Seir were seven in number, namely, Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan, or, possibly, better, Rishan (vs. 20, 21).

2. That all are twice over declared to be *alluphim,* or clan chiefs (vs. 21 and 29f.).[12]

3. That these seven clan chiefs developed into twenty separate families (vs. 22-28).

4. That the aboriginal national name, "Ḥori" becomes also a *clan* name, in the case of the son of Lotan (v. 22).

5. That Anah and Dishon reappear also as subdivisions of Zibeon and Anah respectively (vs. 24, 25).[13]

6. That several of these Horite clans had animal names: for example, Shobal, which closely resembles the Arabic name *shibl,* meaning "young lion"; Zibeon, which means "hyena," Dishon, "a mountain goat," or pygarg, a kind of antelope or gazelle (cf. Deut. 14:5); Aiah, a "hawk," "kite," or "falcon" (cf. Lev. 11:14; Deut. 14:13; Job 28:7); Aran, "wild goat"; Anah, "wild ass," and possibly others.[14] The custom of giving animal names to individuals was most natural to a people amongst whom the arts and manufactures had not yet developed. As Driver suggests, it was probably "the survival of a primitive totemism in Edom."[15]

---

[12] The word *alluph* in Hebrew means properly "chiliarch," i.e., the chief of an *alaf,* or thousand (cf. Ex. 15:15; Zech. 12:5, 6; 9:7).

[13] The duplication is explained by Dillmann and Gunkel by supposing that parts of these tribes had amalgamated with kindred branches, and thus came to figure both as sons and grandsons of the original ancestor; but, according to Skinner, "It is more likely that Anah and Dishon were at first subordinate septs of Zibeon, that they came into the list of *alluphim* as heads of clan groups, and, finally, obtained a primary position amongst the 'sons' of Seir."

[14] In 1 Chron. 1:41, Hemdan of Gen. 36:26 is read as Hamran, meaning "he-ass."

[15] *Comm. on Gen.,* p. 317n.; cf. G. B. Gray, *Heb. Proper Names,* 1896,

7. That twelve of the twenty-seven male descendants of Seir have names ending in *an,* e.g., Lotan, Dishan, Heman, Alvan, Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran, Cheran, Bilhan, Zaavan, Akan, Aran.[16]

8. That certain names as given in the list in Genesis 36:20-30 appear with variant spelling in the corresponding list of 1 Chronicles 1:38-42: e.g., Heman becomes "Homam"; Alvan, "Alian"; Shepho, "Shephi"; Hemdan, "Hamran"; and Akan, "Jaakan"; Oholibamah the daughter of Anah in Genesis 36:25 being omitted altogether in 1 Chronicles 1:41.

9. That the repetition of the names Anah (vs. 20, 24) and Dishon (vs. 21, 25) are not to be regarded as mistaken duplications, but, rather, as intentional. As Ḥori, the national name, in verse 20 becomes in verse 22 a clan name, so these, as clan names in verses 20, 21, become family names, respectively, in verses 24, 25.

10. That in the case of Anah the incidental but interesting information is given that "this is Anah who found the hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father" (v. 24).[17] This personal annotation, given probably for the sake of identification, is supposedly but a snatch of some ancient tradition. The animals may even have helped in the discovery.[18] Thermal springs are actu-

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pp. 252ff. Many Hebrew proper names are originally animal names, e.g., Rachel, "ewe"; Jonah, "dove"; Caleb, "dog"; Oreb, "raven"; Zeeb, "wolf"; Zippor, "sparrow"; Deborah, "bee"; Huldah, "weasel"; Achbor, "mouse"; Eglah, "cow"; Ephron, "young gazelle," etc.

[16] Cf. the *ian* of many modern Armenian names, e.g., Filian, Hagopian, Bezazian, Jenanian; the accent falling on the final syllable, as in Hebrew.

[17] Luther translates: "Who found mules (hybrids), etc." A certain Midrash adds, "The race of Esau was not only itself given to illegal connections, but even seduced animals to them." The Targum of Onkelos, however, renders the same word "giants."

[18] The whirlpool at Carlsbad is said to have been discovered by a hunting dog of Charles IV, which while chasing a stag, got into a hot spring and attracted the huntsmen by his howling.

ally known to exist near the bottom of *Wâdi al-Aḥsi,* on the border betwen Edom and Moab, not far distant northeast of Busâira, the Biblical Bozrah.[19]

11. That two women seem to be included in the list: Timna and Oholibamah (vs. 22, 25). In verse 22 Timna is spoken of as the sister of Lotan; while in verse 40, as a chief, or duke (cf. 1 Chron. 1:51). A woman bearing the same name is mentioned in verse 12 as a "concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son," and as the mother of Amalek.[20] The other woman mentioned in the Horite genealogy is Oholibamah (v. 25); apparently the name of a female here, as in verses 2 and 14, where the same occurs as the name of one of Esau's wives. But in verse 41 the name occurs in a list of the dukes of Edom. It is striking, to say the least, to find these two female names among the chiefs, or dukes of Edom!

12. Lastly, that the whole list is presented in the form of a family or tribal genealogy; one general caption serving to cover both the sons of Esau and the sons of Seir, namely, "These are the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites in mount Seir" (36:9). This suggests that various aboriginal clans and families of Seir must have been ultimately absorbed by the Edomites. Doubtless some of the Horite communities continued to exist, independently and clearly defined, side by side with the sons of Esau, even as the Canaanites did alongside the sons of Jacob in Canaan, but probably the great majority of the ancient inhabitants of the land, mixing freely with the Edomite invaders, by and by were absorbed, and together they became one peo-

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[19] Cf. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land,* 1822, p. 401.

[20] The reference here is probably not to the people of Amalek as a whole (Gen. 14:7), but to an offshoot, or remnant (cf. 1 Chron. 4:42, 43), which had found a home in Edom or was in some way dependent upon it (so Driver, *Genesis,* p. 315). Amalek here does not seem to be accounted as a full son of Eliphaz, but rather, as the son of a concubine who was a Horite he was in consequence regarded as a clan of inferior rank.

ple; so that the historian of a later age, looking back, could say that the sons of Esau had extirpated the aborigines of Mount Seir: "the children of Esau destroyed the Horites from before them; and they succeeded them and dwelt in their stead" (Deut. 2:22); Jehovah having given "unto Esau mount Seir to possess it" (Josh. 24:4).

XXIV

THE GENERATIONS OF ESAU

WITH the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis the personal biography of Esau passes into national history. The record begins with the formula, "Now these are the generations of Esau (the same is Edom)."[1] What follows in the chapter is strictly genealogical and statistical; nevertheless, it is a section of the greatest historical value. Without it, nothing would have been known of Edom's earliest history; for there are no known Edomite inscriptions, and nothing of great worth is obtainable from other sources.[2] But here in Genesis 36, the author traces with order and precision the evolution of Esau's household into families and clans, and finally into a nation ruled over by a succession of kings. Esau's history thus becomes no longer individual but political. "Esau is Edom" (v. 8).

1. Esau's wives. Esau married foreign wives, as we learn from three separate passages:

> And when Esau was forty years old he took to wife *Judith* the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and *Basemath* the daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen. 26:34).
>
> And Esau went unto Ishmael, and took, besides the wives that he had, *Mahalath* the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife (Gen. 28:9).
>
> Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan: *Adah* the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and *Oholi-*

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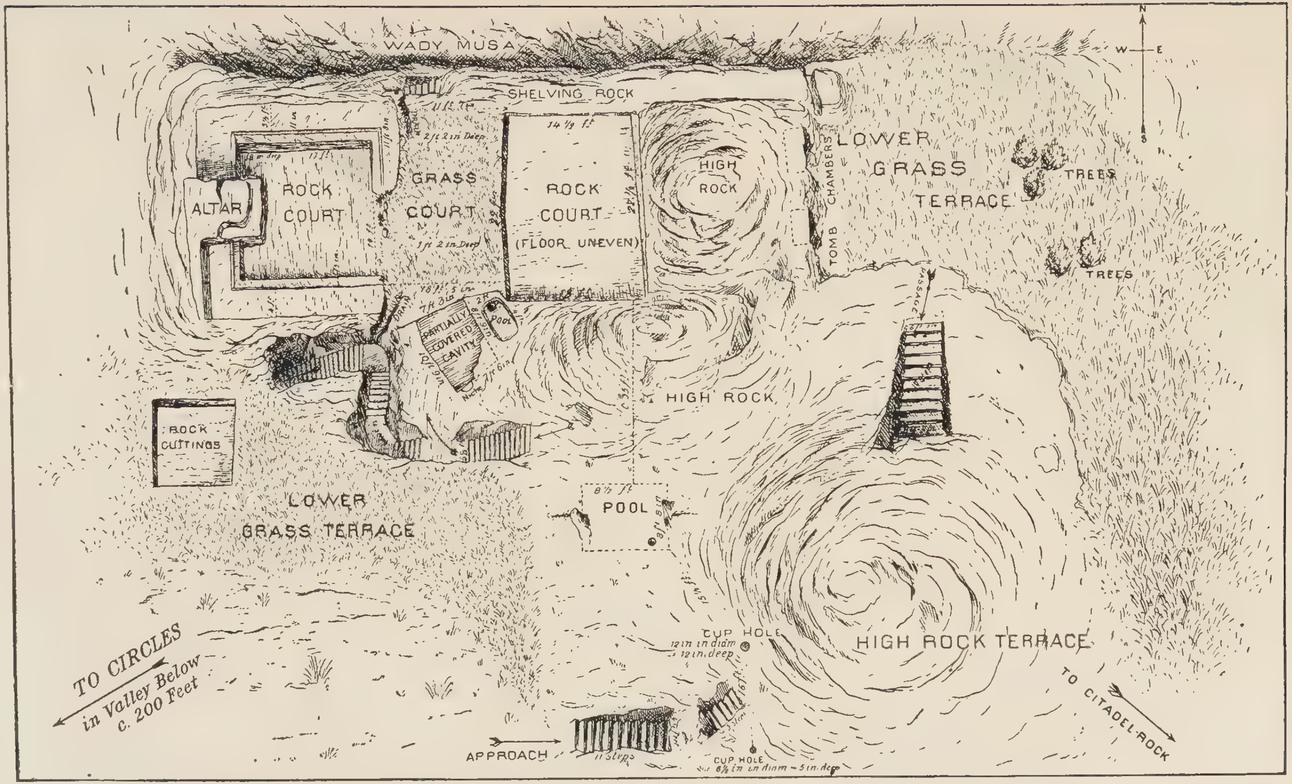
[1] With slight variation the same formula is repeated in v. 9.

[2] Of course 1 Chron. 1:35-54 is only a parallel to Gen. 36.


WADY MUSA
SHELVING ROCK
N
W
E
S
ALTAR
ROCK COURT
GRASS COURT
2 ft 2 in Deep
1 ft 2 in Deep
DRAIN
ROCK COURT (FLOOR UNEVEN)
14 1/2 ft
HIGH ROCK
TOMB CHAMBERS
LOWER GRASS TERRACE
TREES
TREES
PASSAGE
PARTIALLY COVERED CAVITY
Pool
Niche
HIGH ROCK
ROCK CUTTINGS
LOWER GRASS TERRACE
POOL
8 1/2 ft
CUP HOLE
12 in in diam
12 in. deep
HIGH ROCK TERRACE
TO CITADEL-ROCK
TO CIRCLES
in Valley Below
c. 200 Feet
APPROACH
11 Steps
CUP HOLE
6 1/2 in in diam – 5 in. deep

(See Chapter XI)

Citadel High Place

> *bamah* the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite, and *Basemath* Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebaioth (Gen. 36:2, 3).

Concerning these passages Wellhausen remarks, "This is the most open contradiction in the whole of Genesis."[3] Kalisch also treats them as irreconcilable.[4] Indeed, it must be allowed that the names of Esau's wives in these passages are strangely interchanged. In explanation of the enigma some have supposed that Esau had five wives, the name of Basemath occurring twice (26:34; 36:3). But this is very improbable. The prevailing opinion among modern expositors is that the variations are due to divergent traditions.[5] To this view, however, it is sufficient to answer, that all these passages are assigned by critics to the same "source," (P).[6] Others have suggested that Esau's wives bore double names; or, were renamed when they became members of Esau's family.[7] There is a well-known custom among Orientals of changing their names as they change in age, circumstances, or religion. Particularly is this true of women who marry into another than their own tribe. Esau's wives were all foreigners, and as such would naturally receive new names when married to Esau. Even Esau himself received the new name "Edom," in consequence of his having foolishly bartered his birthright for a mess of pottage, which was the religious turning point of his life (Gen. 25:30). Many analogous instances of both men and women might be cited.[8]

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[3] *Die Composition des Hexateuchs,* p. 49.

[4] *Commentary on Genesis,* p. 594.

[5] So Driver, *Genesis,* p. 313, and many others.

[6] For example, by the *Oxford Hexateuch, II,* p. 57.

[7] So Green, *The Unity of Genesis,* pp. 423f.

[8] E.g., Abram to Abraham, Gen. 17:5; Jacob to Israel, 35:10; Joseph to Zaphenath-paneah, 41:45; Hoshea to Joshua, Num. 13:16; Reuel to Jethro, Exod. 2:18; 3:1; Jerubbaal to Gideon, Judg. 7:1; Eliakim to Jehoiakim, 2 Kings 23:34; Mattaniah to Zedekiah, 2 Kings 24:17; Daniel to Belteshaz-

The most probable explanation of the matter, therefore, is this: Genesis 36, being a genealogical list is obviously archaic; in it the author carries his reader back to Esau's very first marital alliances with foreigners, and so gives the original names of his wives before they were married and renamed. Assuming this as a working hypothesis, we may reasonably infer that the one whose Hittite name was Adah became known after her marriage to Esau as Basemath; the Hivite Oholibamah, as Judith;[9] and the Ishmaelite Basemath, as Mahalath.[10] That the author of Genesis 36 regards Esau as the husband of but *three* wives is obvious from verses 9-19, in which both the "sons" and the "chiefs" of Esau are carefully grouped according to the *three* mothers, respectively, who bore them (cf. vs. 12, 13, 14, and 16, 17, 18).[11]

2. *Esau's Migration from Canaan.* The exact time when Esau migrated with his household from Canaan to Mount Seir is not stated, but from the passages presently to be considered, it is quite probable that the twin brothers lived peaceably side by side in Canaan for many years subsequent to Jacob's purchase of Esau's birthright, and that Esau emigrated some time *prior* to Jacob's flight from Canaan to Paddan-aram.

> And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the souls of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his possessions, which he had

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zar, Dan. 1:7; Sarai to Sarah, Gen. 17:15, and Tabitha to Dorcas, Acts 9:36. The change of names denoted a change of fortune. "A new name meant a new departure in religion, a revival and a reformation" (Bennett).

[9] "Hivites" and "Hittites" were probably closely related, Gen. 36:2; 26:34; or, the text may have become corrupt. For example, Zibeon is called a "Hivite" in 36:2, but in v. 20 of this same chapter, a "Horite." In the Hebrew the difference is exceedingly slight.

[10] Cf. O. Meisner, "Die Kinder Edom," *Zeits. d. luth. Theol. u. Kirche,* 1862, p. 205.

[11] For a fuller discussion of the problem, see Appendix III.

> gathered in the land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his brother Jacob. For their substance was too great for them to dwell together; and the land of their sojournings could not bear them because of their cattle. And Esau dwelt in mount Seir: Esau is Edom (Gen. 36:6-8).

From this passage it is evident that Esau severed himself from his brother and migrated to Mt. Seir because the land of Canaan was not large or fertile enough to support both them and their cattle.[12] In another chapter, Esau is described as already residing in the land of Seir, at the head of four hundred men, when Jacob returns from Paddan-aram; and furthermore, it is there assumed that Esau's place of residence is already well-known to Jacob. "And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the field of Edom" (Gen. 32:3).

Now the interval between Esau's marriage (26:34) and his failure to obtain the first-born's blessing (chap. 27), according to the chronology of the book of Genesis, was approximately thirty-seven years.[13] Esau must, therefore, have left Canaan during these thirty-seven years, having spontaneously resigned his claims to the land. There is no necessity of assuming with Dods that Esau made "a preliminary expedition to Seir, called for by some dispute with the inhabitants of Seir, and ending in Esau's settling in the country." [14]

3. Esau's sons. The sons of Esau are catalogued in two separate groups: those born in Canaan, and those born in Seir. Five sons were born to Esau while he still resided in the land of Canaan:

> And Adah bare to Esau *Eliphaz;* and Basemath bare *Reuel;* and Oholibamah bare *Jeush,* and *Jalam,*

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[12] As Lot separated himself from Abram, Gen. 13:5-12.

[13] Cf. Gen. 25:26; 31:41; 35:28.

[14] *Genesis,* p. 137.

> and *Korah:* these are the sons of Esau that were born unto him in the land of Canaan (Gen. 36:4, 5).

In Mt. Seir, Esau's household increased to fifteen separate families:

> And these are the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in mount Seir: these are the names of Esau's sons: *Eliphaz* the son of Adah the wife of Esau, *Reuel* the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. And the sons of Eliphaz were *Teman, Omar, Zepho,* and *Gatam,* and *Kenaz.* And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bare to Eliphaz *Amalek:* these are the sons of Adah, Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Reuel: *Nahath,* and *Zerah, Shammah,* and *Mizzah:* these were the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. And these were the sons of Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau *Jeush* and *Jalam,* and *Korah* (Gen. 36:9-14).

Thus the children born to Esau in Canaan (v. 5) stand over against those born in Mt. Seir (v. 9). Concerning them nothing is actually known; but of those mentioned, it should be noted that "Eliphaz" became a well-known personal name among the Edomites (Job 2:11); that "Teman" is a geographical name (Amos 1:12; Jer. 49:7, 20); and that "Amalek" is a tribal name, possibly referring, as Driver thinks, "not to the people of Amalek itself (Gen. 14:7), but to an offshoot, or remnant (see 1 Chron. 4:42, 43) which had found a home in Edom, or was in some way dependent upon it."[15] But it is more probable that the Amalek here mentioned refers to the mighty warlike tribe which spread later over the central plain of the Sinai peninsula.[16] For, in a list of general genealogical character such as this, it is certainly more natural to suppose that the original parent stock of the Amalekites is meant, rather than a mere "offshoot" or "remnant." What is especially noteworthy is the implication that Amalek's mother was a Horite (cf. Gen. 36:12, 22).

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[15] *The Book of Genesis,* p. 315.

[16] In Gen. 14:7, this territory is already called by anticipation "the country of the Amalekites"; cf. a similar proleptical use of a phrase, "in the land of Rameses" (Gen. 47:11). In Num. 24:20, Amalek is described as

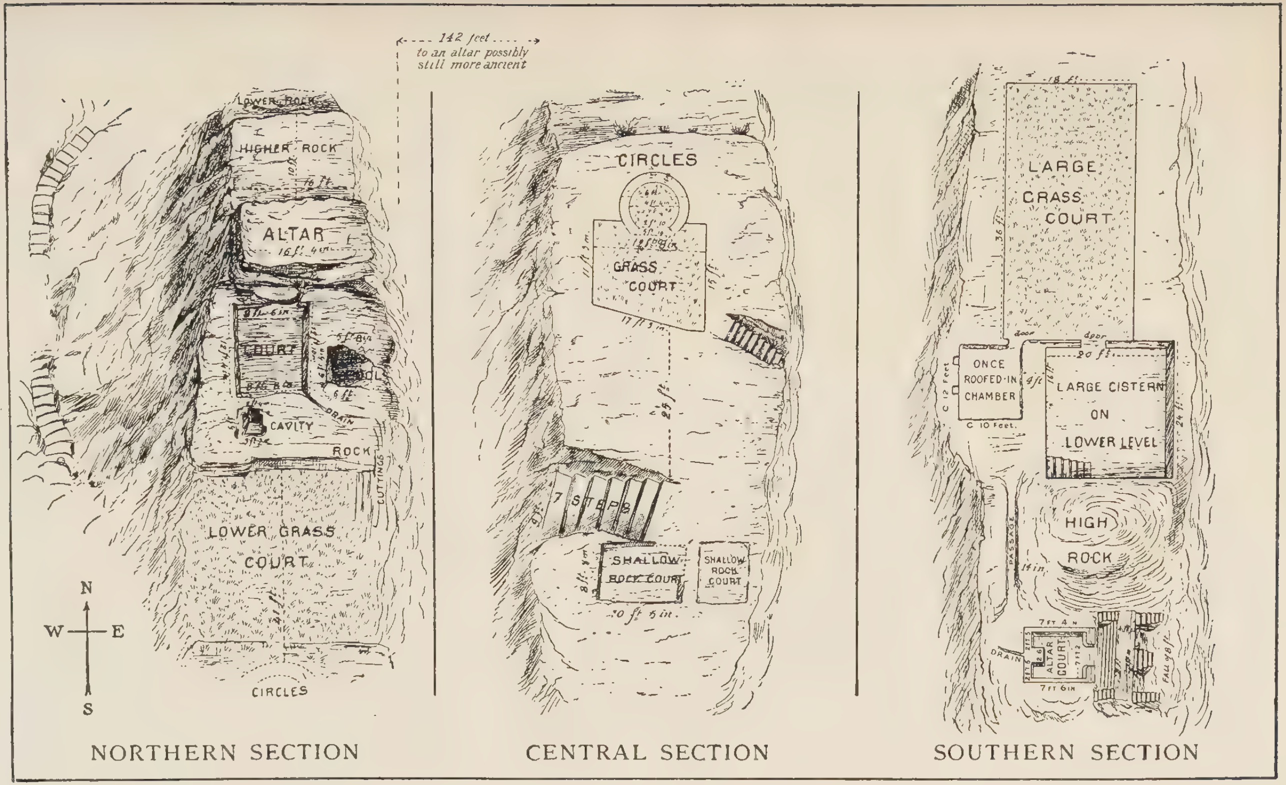
4. Esau's Shaikhs or Clan Chiefs. From families, Esau's descendants developed into organized clans, each having their own shaikh, or clan chief.

> These are the chiefs of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the first-born of Esau: chief *Teman,* chief *Omar,* chief *Zepho,* chief *Kenaz,* chief *Korah,* chief *Gatam,* chief *Amalek:* these are the chiefs that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. And these are the sons of Reuel, Esau's son: chief *Nahath,* chief *Zerah,* chief *Shammah,* chief *Mizzah:* these are the chiefs that came of Reuel in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Oholibamah, Esau's wife: chief *Jeush,* chief *Jalam,* chief *Korah:* these are the chiefs that came of Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. These are the sons of Esau, and these are their chiefs: the same is Edom (Gen. 36:15-19).

The names of these clan "chiefs" are identical with those of the "sons" of Esau as given in verses 9-14, except that an extra "Korah" is added in verse 16. This is probably a copyist's mistake, as the name does not occur in the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Edomites called these clan chiefs *Alluphim,* a title which seems to have been borrowed by them from the Horites whose chiefs also bore the same distinction (cf. Gen. 36:29, 30).[17]

"the first of the nations," not chronologically, however, but because of preëminence.

[17] In Exod. 15:15 "the chiefs (or *alluphim*) of Edom" are spoken of, along with "the mighty men (or rams) of Moab."


142 feet
to an altar possibly
still more ancient
LOWER ROCK
HIGHER ROCK
10 ft.
16 ft.
ALTAR
16 ft. 4 in.
8 ft. 6 in.
COURT
8 ft. 6 in.
5 ft. 8 in.
POOL
6 ft.
CAVITY
DRAIN
ROCK
CUTTINGS
LOWER GRASS
COURT
CIRCLES
N
W
E
S
NORTHERN SECTION
CIRCLES
GRASS
COURT
17 ft. 3 in.
25 ft.
7 STEPS
SHALLOW
ROCK COURT
SHALLOW
ROCK
COURT
10 ft. 5 in.
CENTRAL SECTION
18 ft.
LARGE
GRASS
COURT
36 ft.
door
door
ONCE
ROOFED-IN
CHAMBER
C 12 Feet
C 10 Feet.
4 ft.
20 ft.
LARGE CISTERN
ON
LOWER LEVEL
24 ft.
PASSAGE
HIGH
ROCK
14 in.
DRAIN
7 FT 4 IN
ALTAR
COURT
7 FT 6 IN
FALL 9 ft.
SOUTHERN SECTION

(See Chapter XI)

Triple High Place

5. *The Kings of Edom.* Having developed Esau's history from an individual into families (vs. 9-14), and from families into clans with shaikhs (vs. 15-19), but one more stage remained, that of monarchy.

> And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel. And *Bela* the son of Beor reigned in Edom; and the name of his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and *Jobab* the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and *Husham* of the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. And Husham died, and *Hadad* the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Avith. And Hadad died, and *Samlah* of Masrekah reigned in his stead. And Samlah died, and *Shaul* of Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. And Shaul died, and *Baal-hanan,* the son of Achbor reigned in his stead. And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and *Hadar* reigned in his stead: and the name of his city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab (Gen. 36:31-39).

Eight sovereigns are here enumerated, who are declared to have reigned in the land of Edom *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.* The impression is here given that Edom became a powerful and warlike state, enjoying prosperity, unity and distinction, long prior to their brethren the children of Israel. Deliberately the author seems to set in contrast the precocious world power of Edom with the backward, plodding tribes of Jacob, passing through slavery and desert discipline before they came into possession of their promised inheritance. "In the soil of nature the fruit ripens often more quickly than in the soil of grace." In describing their progress thus, he was doubtless asserting the simple truth; for, from the earliest times, the Edomites are represented in the Old Testament as under kings. For example, in Numbers 20:14ff., when Moses asked permission to cross Edom's territory in order to reach the plains of Moab, he is said to have sent messengers from Kadesh "unto the king of Edom"; but his petition was refused. *Had the king of Edom in Moses' time,* we ask, *no predecessors?* We are not here specially concerned with the problem as to when, according to the statement, the author of Genesis 36:31 must have lived; whether he was Moses, or some writer who lived and wrote subsequent to the establishment of the Israelitish monarchy under Saul. For our present purpose it is vastly more important to designate the *period* when these eight kings flourished. Now the last king mentioned in the list seems to have been still ruling when the author wrote; for it is not stated in his case that he "died" as it is in the cases of all the other seven; besides, the author gives the names of this king's wife, of her father, and of her grandfather. The period, therefore, during which these eight kings flourished, probably extended from before the Exodus on into the period of Joshua, and possibly also of Israel's judges. According to tradition there certainly was already a ruling king in Edom in the time of Moses (Num. 20:14ff.).

What the character of their rule was or how they were chosen is not stated. But from the fact that not one of these eight kings was apparently succeeded by his son, but that they all sprang from different cities and widely separated sections, it has been inferred that the early Edomites were ruled by an *elective* rather than a hereditary monarchy. And this opinion seems to be confirmed by a statement in Isaiah 34:12, which reads: "They shall *call* the nobles thereof to the kingdom but none shall be there."[18] It must be allowed, however, that the evidence in favor of their having had an elective monarchy is inconclusive. Perhaps these eight unrelated kings acquired supremacy through their personal valor and prowess in war, as did the Judges in Israel; or, with Buhl, we may regard them as the original founders of different dynasties;[19] in which case Edom's history was probably checkered and turbulent, like that later of the Ten Tribes of Israel.

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[18] To-day in the Sudan the negro Shullah tribe have a king, or "mek," who is elected.

Of the eight kings whose names have come down to us, it is significant that one, "Hadad," bore the name of an Aramæan deity; compare "Benhadad" and "Hadadezer";[20] of whom the interesting information is given that he "smote Midian in the field of Moab" (v. 35). Another, "Shaul," whose name corresponds to Saul in Hebrew, is said to have come from Rehoboth "by the River," apparently the river Euphrates (v. 37); if so, he must have been a foreigner to Edom proper. The name "Baal-hanan" (v. 38), points to the possible worship of Baal in Edom; it signifies that "Baal is gracious." "Mehetabel" (v. 39) is another name of Aramaic formation, meaning "God confers benefits" (cf. Neh. 6:10).

6. The Local Clan Chiefs of Esau. The concluding section (vs. 40-43) of Genesis 36 is even more puzzling than those that precede. If the previous lists are historico-genealogical, this is rather geographico-statistical. It reads:

> And these are the names of the chiefs that came of Esau, according to their families, *after their places,* by their names: chief *Timna,* chief *Alvah,* chief *Jetheth,* chief *Oholibamah,* chief *Elah,* chief *Pinon,* chief *Kenaz,* chief *Teman,* chief *Mibzar,* chief *Magdiel,* chief *Iram;* these are the chiefs of Edom, *according to their habitations in the land of their possession.* This is Esau, the father of the Edomites (Gen. 36:40-43).

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[19] *Geschichte der Edomiter,* p. 47.

[20] "Hadar" in v. 39 should be read "Hadad" as in 1 Chron. 1:50: cf. the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Peshito; as well as certain Hebrew MSS.

Thus eleven shaikhs or clan chiefs are here named, of whom, however, only two of those already mentioned in the chapter are repeated. These two are "Kenaz" and "Teman" (vs. 15 and 42). All bear, like those before discussed, the title of *Alluphim*. Possibly, therefore, they were the successors of the last king in the series! This impression is confirmed by 1 Chron. 1:51, which reads: "And Hadad died. And the *chiefs* of Edom were . . ."; and then follows the list of eleven shaikhs, as recorded in Genesis 36:40-43. It has been suggested that this list relates to the time when the Edomite monarchy had passed away, and the country had become subject to Israel. David, it will be remembered, placed garrisons "throughout all Edom" (2 Sam. 8:14).[21] But it is their *geographical* relationship which is here accentuated. They are catalogued "after their places," and "according to their habitations" (vs. 40, 43). They were therefore probably the heads of certain territorial subdivisions of the country, adopted for political and administrative purposes, which may have corresponded to the old tribal divisions. A similar redivision of territory was made under King Solomon (1 Kings 4:7-19).

These, then, are the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites; Esau had eventually absorbed Seir!

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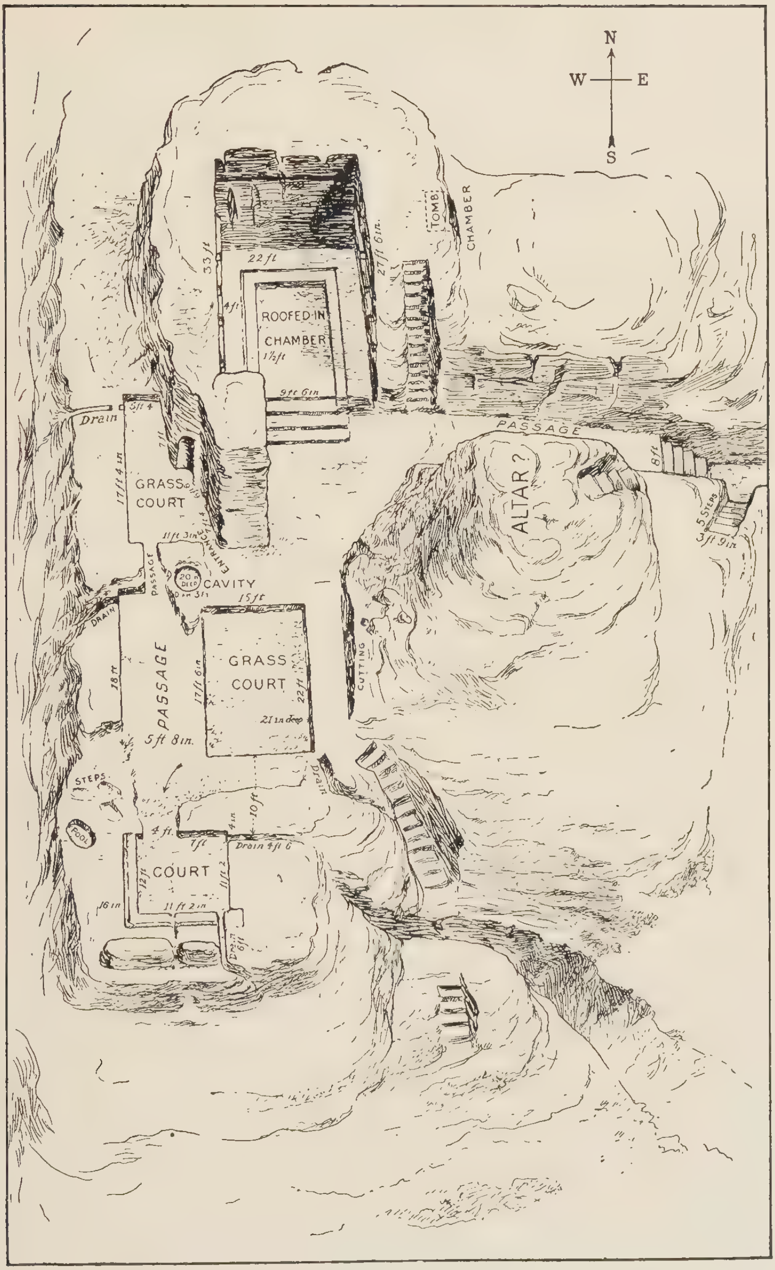
[21] Cf. Driver, *Genesis*, p. 319.

XXV

EDOM'S LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

FROM Moses' time till David the Edomites seem to have maintained an uninterrupted independence. Little is known of them, however, apart from their contact with Israel. Toward the end of the forty years' wandering in the desert, while Israel was still at Kadesh, Moses sent messengers to their king, requesting permission to conduct the Israelites across his territory to the plains of Moab; but Moses' request was refused:

> And Moses sent messengers from Kadesh unto the king of Edom, Thus saith thy brother, Thou knowest all the travail that hath befallen us; how our fathers went down into Egypt, and we dwelt in Egypt a long time; and the Egyptians dealt ill with us, and our fathers: and when we cried unto Jehovah, he heard our voice, and sent an angel, and brought us forth out of Egypt, and behold, we are in Kadesh, a city in the uttermost of thy border. Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy land: we will not pass through field or through vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go along the king's highway; we will not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy border. And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass through me, lest I come out with the sword against thee. And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go up by the highway; and if we drink of thy water, I and my cattle, then will I give the price thereof: let me only, without doing anything else, pass through on my feet. And he said,


N
W
E
S
TOMB
CHAMBER
33 ft
22 ft
27 ft 6 in.
4 ft
ROOFED-IN
CHAMBER
1½ ft
9 ft 6 in
5 ft 4
Drain
7 ft
17 ft 4 in
GRASS
COURT
11 ft 3 in
7 ft 4
ENTRANCE
PASSAGE
20 in
DEEP
CAVITY
Dam 3 ft
15 ft
DRAIN
PASSAGE
18 ft
17 ft 6 in
GRASS
COURT
22 ft
21 in deep
5 ft 8 in.
CUTTING
PASSAGE
ALTAR?
8 ft
5 STEPS
3 ft 9 in
Drain
10 ft
STEPS
POOL
4 ft.
4 in
7 ft
Drain 4 ft 6
COURT
12 ft
11 ft 2
16 in
11 ft 2 in
Drain 6 ft

(See Chapter XI)

Turkmanîya High Place

> Thou shalt not pass through. And Edom came out against him with much people, and with a strong hand. Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him (Num. 20:14-21).

A corroboration of this account is found in the Book of Judges, with the added information that Moab also treated Israel in a similar manner:

> Then Israel sent messengers unto the king of Edom, saying, Let me, I pray thee, pass through thy land; but the king of Edom hearkened not. And in like manner he sent unto the king of Moab; but he would not; and Israel abode in Kadesh (Judg. 11:17).

In consequence, therefore, of Edom's refusal to allow the Israelites to cross by the king's highway, they were compelled to turn backward in order to compass Mt. Seir; journeying southward toward the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. The exact route of their march cannot definitely be traced, but probably it led from Mt. Hor, or Moserah, where Aaron was buried (Deut. 12:6) southwardly across the territory now occupied by the 'Azâzimah Arabs into the Wâdi al-Jerâfi and Wâdi al-Ithar, until it joined the public caravan route which still runs east and west near the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. Along this way they would be allowed to pass unmolested because it was a public highway.[1]

> And they journeyed from mount Hor by the way to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom: and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way. . . . And the children of Israel journeyed,

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[1] It should be remembered at this point that Bozrah and not Petra was at that time the probable metropolis of the Edomites: hence the strength of the nation was well remote to the north, and the Israelites accordingly would be quite out of danger as they passed around the southern end of the Mt. Seir range.

> and encamped in Oboth. And they journeyed from Oboth and encamped at Iye-abarim, in the wilderness which is before Moab, toward the sunrising (Num. 21:4, 10, 11).

The passage around Mt. Seir must have required considerable time. The Edomites evidently became alarmed when they heard that Israel's hosts had reached the table-lands of the desert east of Mt. Seir:

> Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea, as Jehovah spake unto me; and we compassed mount Seir many days. And Jehovah spake unto me, saying, Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you northward. And command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the border of your brethren the children of Esau, that dwell in Seir; and they will be afraid of you. Take ye good heed unto yourselves, therefore; contend not with them, for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread on; because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a possession. Ye shall purchase food of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink. . . . So we passed by from our brethren, the children of Esau that dwell in Seir, from the way of the Arabah, from Elath and from Ezion-geber (Deut. 2:1-6, 8).

From the east, it was comparatively an easy matter to invade Edom's territory, as the great plain of Arabia Deserta is of approximately the same altitude as the mountain range and table-lands of Seir in which the Edomites resided. Being exposed, therefore, from this eastern side, and becoming fearful lest the Israelites might attack them successfully, the Edomites consented to sell them food to eat and water to drink (Deut. 2:28, 29). Wherefore a law was subsequently enacted that the Israelites should not forever exclude the Edomites from their assemblies or take vengeance upon them:

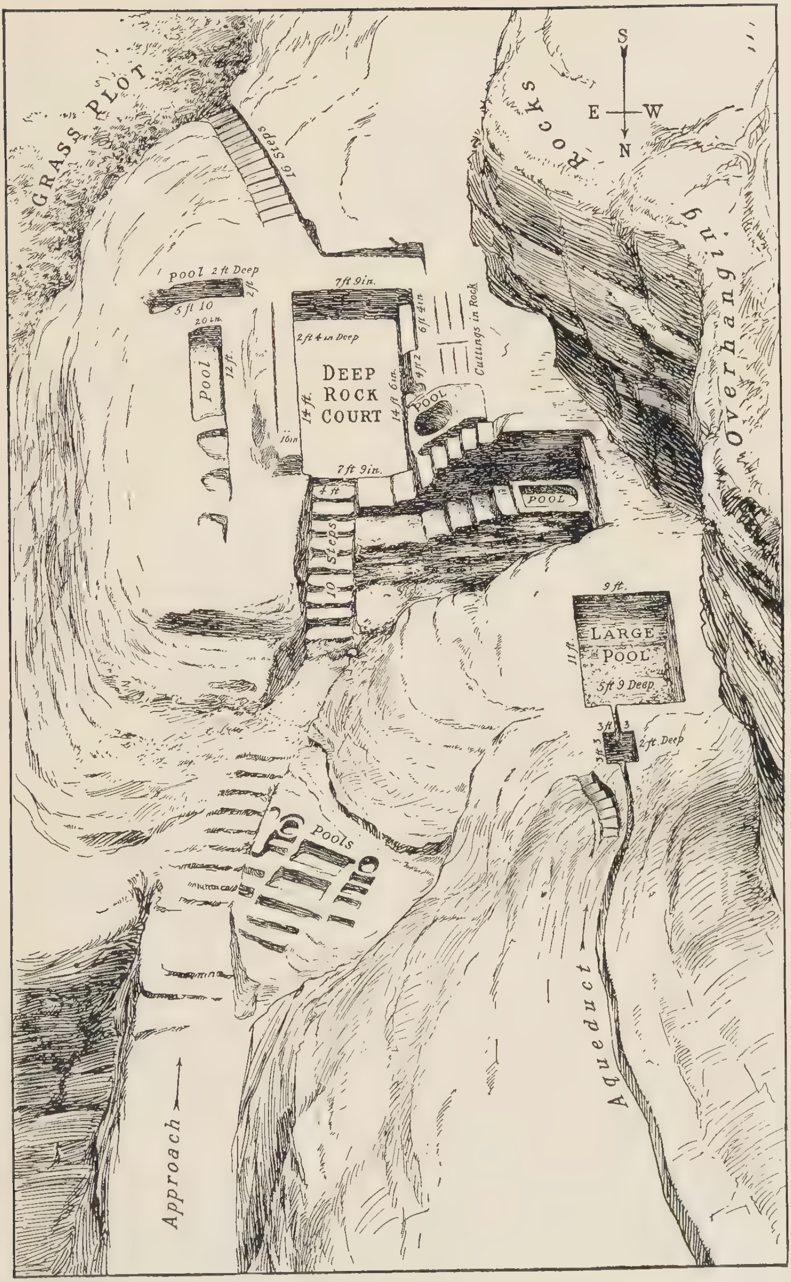
> Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother; thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a sojourner in his land. The children of the third generation that are born unto them shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah (Deut. 23:7, 8).

When, however, the Israelites at last entered the plains of Moab, they were safely out of Edom's reach. Not long afterwards Balaam portrayed the divergent destinies of these rival brothers,—Jacob to become a "star" among the powerful nations of earth, whereas, Esau should lose his independence and become a vassal to his brother.

> I see him, but not now;
> I behold him, but not nigh:
> There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,
> And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,
> And shall smite through the corners of Moab,
> And break down all the sons of tumult.
> And Edom shall be a possession,
> Seir also shall be a possession,
> who were his enemies;
> While Israel doeth valiantly.
> And out of Jacob shall one have dominion,
> And shall destroy the remnant from the city.
> (Num. 24:17-19.)

And, as a matter of fact, from Moses' time forward the gulf between the two peoples broadened, and the relations between them became more and more strained, until in their historical development Edom lost her independence and became the ever revengeful and malicious enemy of Israel.

Centuries of silence pass between the death of Moses and the reign of King Saul. We read nothing in the Old Testament of the Edomites during this period. Naturally they


GRASS PLOT
16 Steps
S
E
W
N
Rocks
Overhanging
Pool 2 ft Deep
2 ft
5 ft 10
20 in.
Pool
12 ft.
7 ft 9 in.
2 ft 4 in Deep
DEEP ROCK COURT
14 ft.
16 in
6 ft 4 in
4 ft 2
14 ft 6 in.
Cuttings in Rock
POOL
7 ft 9 in.
4 ft
10 Steps
POOL
9 ft.
11 ft.
LARGE POOL
5 ft 9 Deep.
3 ft 3
3 ft 3
2 ft. Deep
Pools
Approach
Aqueduct

(See Chapter XI)

Madrâs High Place

are not mentioned as among those who resisted the invasion of Joshua.[2] From Egyptian sources, however, it is known that Rameses III of the twentieth dynasty, "smote the people of Seir who belonged to the Shasu (Bedouin), and plundered their tents." This was the only campaign, so far as we know, undertaken by any Pharaoh against Mount Seir (ca. 1230-1200 B.C.).[3]

During the period of Israel's monarchy, Edom emerges anew. Among Saul's servants there was an Edomite named Doeg, whose position as chief herdsman was one of the highest rank in the court, but whose character was most unscrupulous:

> Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there [at Nob] that day, detained before Jehovah; and his name was Doeg the Edomite, the chiefest of the herdsmen that belong to Saul (1 Sam. 21:7).

This same Doeg subsequently became the murderer of the eighty-five priests of Nob:

> Then answered Doeg the Edomite, who stood by the servants of Saul, and said, I saw the son of Jesse coming to Nob, to Ahimelech the son of Ahitub. And he inquired of Jehovah for him, and gave him victuals, and gave him the sword of Goliath the Philistine. . . . And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and he slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod. And Nob the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen and asses and sheep, with the edge of the sword (1 Sam. 22:9,10, 18, 19).

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[2] Meisner suggests that perhaps the "Maonites" mentioned in Judges 10:12 may have been a tribe of the Edomites; but this is very unlikely.

[3] Cf. Sayce, Hastings' *Dict. of Bible,* I, p. 645.

In commemoration of this bloody massacre, tradition says, David composed a psalm; it was obviously intended as a vehement rebuke to Doeg, and as a prophecy of his destruction. For, David evidently regarded him not only as the murderer of the priests at Nob, but as an enemy of all God's people.

> Why boastest thou thyself in mischief, O mighty man?
> The lovingkindness of God endureth continually.
> Thy tongue deviseth very wickedness,
> Like a sharp razor, working deceitfully,
> Thou lovest evil more than good,
> And lying rather than to speak righteousness.
> Thou lovest all devouring words,
> O thou deceitful tongue.
> God will likewise destroy thee forever;
> He will take thee up, and pluck thee out of thy tent,
> And root thee out of the land of the living.
> The righteous also shall see it, and fear,
> And shall laugh at him, saying,
> Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength,
> But trusted in the abundance of his riches,
> And strengthened himself in his wickedness.
> But as for me, I am like a green olive-tree in the
>   house of God:
> I trust in the lovingkindness of God forever and ever.
> I will give thee thanks for ever because thou hast done it;
> And I will hope in thy name, for it is good, in the
>   presence of thy saints (Ps. 52).

The first mention of any serious national conflict between Israel and Edom occurred in connection with Saul's military exploits; it is described in a passage which summarizes his victories.

> Now when Saul had taken the kingdom over Israel, he fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against

> the Philistines and whithersoever he turned himself, he put them to the worse (1 Sam. 14:47).

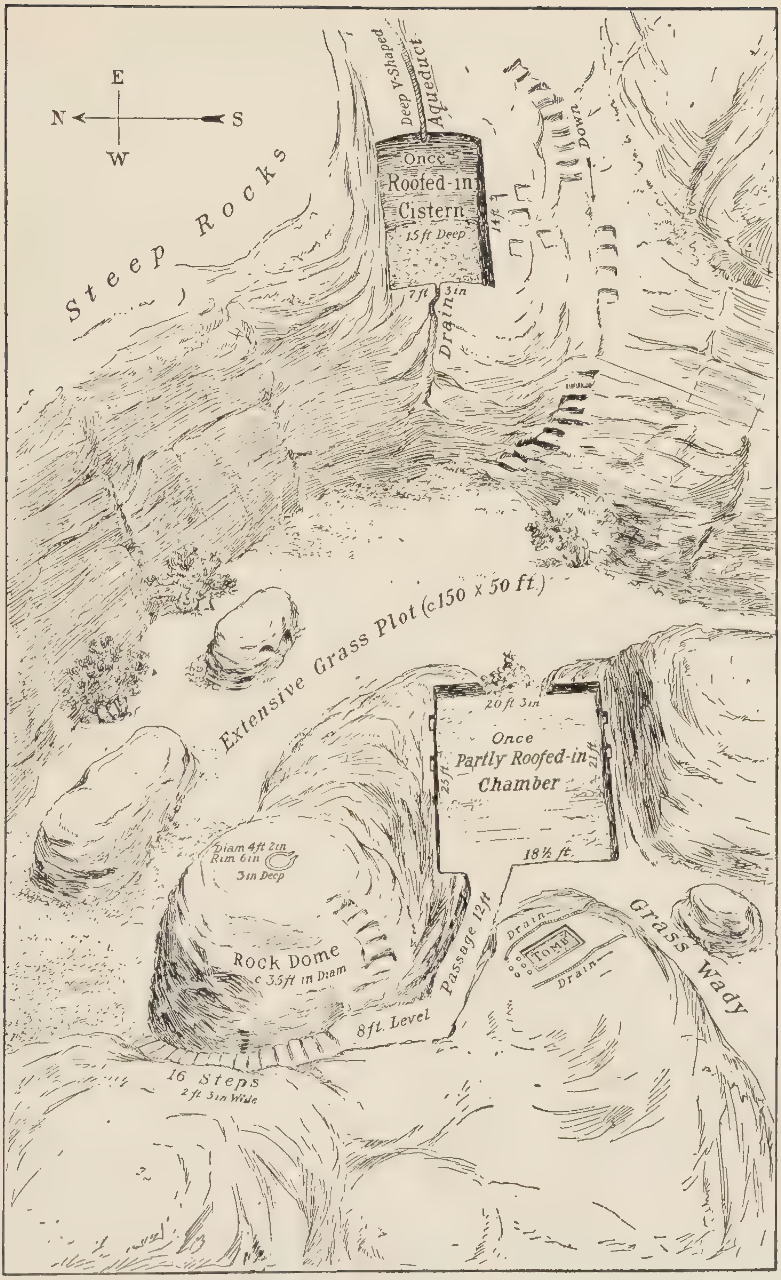
But we are not required to suppose that Saul actually took Edom and subdued it at this time. Rather the conflict between him and Edom was more probably a mere incidental expedition to punish the Edomites for their hatred and hostility toward him and his people. Yet by it Edom's hatred for Israel was doubtless greatly inflamed. For with Saul's humiliation of Edom begins that long struggle between the two peoples which extended over hundreds of years, and became one of the bitterest contests of all history.

After Saul's death, the Edomites took the first opportunity afforded them of showing their hatred of Israel. While David was occupied in north Syria smiting Hadadezer, king of Zobah, Edom seems to have invaded the southern part of Judah, even threatening Jerusalem. But upon David's return the much older kingdom of Edom was terribly reduced by the younger kingdom of Israel; eighteen thousand of the Edomites being smitten in the Valley of Salt at the south end of the Dead Sea.

> And David gat him a name when he returned from smiting the Syrians [more correctly "the Edomites," as in the Margin] in the Valley of Salt, even eighteen thousand men. And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all the Edomites became servants to David. And Jehovah gave victory to David whithersoever he went (2 Sam. 8:13, 14).

The parallel account in 1 Chronicles makes the marginal reading of the preceding passage clear and assured:

> Moreover Abishai the son of Zeruiah smote of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt eighteen thousand. And he put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became


E
N
S
W
Steep Rocks
Deep V-Shaped
Aqueduct
Once
Roofed-in
Cistern
15 ft Deep
14 ft
7 ft 3 in
Drain
Down
Extensive Grass Plot (c.150 x 50 ft.)
20 ft 3 in
Once
Partly Roofed-in
Chamber
25 ft
21 ft
18½ ft.
Diam 4 ft 2 in
Rim 6 in
3 in Deep
Rock Dome
c 35 ft in Diam
Passage 12 ft
8 ft. Level
16 Steps
2 ft 3 in Wide
Drain
TOMB
Drain
Grass Wady

(*See Chapter XI*)

Khubtha High Place

> servants to David. And Jehovah gave victory to David whithersoever he went (1 Chron. 18:12, 13).

Joab seems to have followed up this victory by a long and drastic investment of the country, remaining in Edom with a strong force six months until he had placed garrisons throughout the entire country, and cut off every male in Edom (1 Kings 11:16). This was a bloody and wholesale destruction of the Edomites which those who survived neither forgave nor forgot; making it possible for the Psalmist to say, "Upon Edom will I cast my shoe." (Psalms 60:8; 108:9), being spoken as to a slave; David, in fact, is said to have reduced them to slavery, all the Edomites becoming his servants (2 Sam. 8:14).

Having now lost her independence, Edom remained for many years subject to Israel; but being filled with ill will and revenge toward her brother, she ever watched for a chance to reassert her power.

XXVI

EDOM'S STRUGGLE TO REGAIN NATIONALITY

THE story of Edom's long and fruitless struggle to regain national independence is a most pathetic one; unfortunately the sources of our information are few and fragmentary.

Saul, as we have already seen, was the first king of Israel to subdue the Edomites; Doeg, "the Edomite," having been his chief herdsman (1 Sam. 14:47; 21:7). David's humiliation of Edom was far more drastic. He slaughtered eighteen thousand in the Valley of Salt, and put garrisons throughout the land, forcing the people to be his servants (2 Sam 8:13, 14; cf. 1 Chron. 18:12, 13). The humiliation caused by this crushing defeat ever afterwards manifested itself in a spirit of deadly hate on the part of the Edomites.

It was at this time that the youthful Edomite prince, Hadad, fled with certain of his father's servants to Egypt, and later returned with a royal Egyptian bride. This young prince was one of the few who escaped when Joab, David's commander-in-chief, had remained in Edom for six months, "cutting off every male" (1 Kings 11:15, 16). When he returned to his own country he became a powerful adversary to Solomon. The Biblical account of his flight and return reads as follows:

> And Jehovah raised up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed in Edom. For it came to pass, when David was in Edom,

> and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to bury the slain, and had smitten every male in Edom; (for Joab and all Israel remained there six months, until he had cut off every male in Edom;) that Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt, Hadad being yet a little child. And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran; and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, who gave him a house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land. And Hadad found great favor in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen. And the sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house; and Genubath was in Pharaoh's house among the sons of Pharaoh (1 Kings 11:14-20).

The Pharaoh who reigned in Egypt at that time was Pesibkhenno II. Though a friend of David, out of regard for the years of this youthful Edomite prince, he showed him special kindness, giving him not only land, and house, and food, but also a royal wife, namely his own sister-in-law, who bore him a son.[1] But when Hadad heard in Egypt that David and Joab were both dead, he took his son Genubath and returned to Edom, seized the throne, and became the adversary of Solomon, doing him much mischief!

The record adds:

> And when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host

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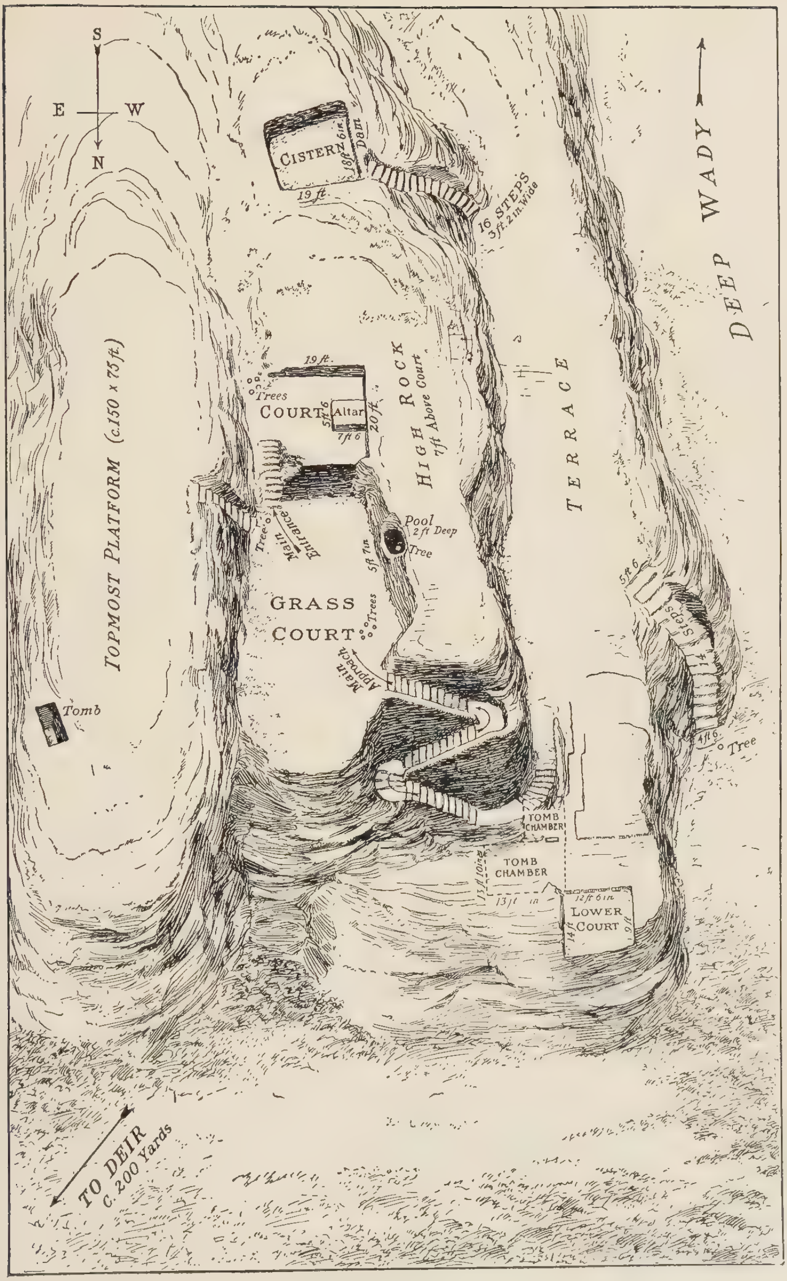
[1] It is possible, of course, to interpret the two Pharaohs mentioned in 1 Kings 11:18, 19, as two different kings belonging to succeeding dynasties: thus, the first may refer to Pesibkhenno II, who was the last reigning monarch of the twenty-first dynasty; and the other to Shishak, who was the first king of the twenty-second dynasty. For an analogy in interpretation compare 2 Kings 17:5, 6, in which the king first mentioned refers to Shalmanezer IV, while the second probably refers to Sargon II.


S
E
W
N
CISTERN
18ft 6in
Dam
19 ft.
16 STEPS
3ft. 2in. wide
DEEP WADY
TOPMOST PLATFORM (c.150 x 75 ft.)
19 ft.
Trees
COURT
Altar
5ft 6
7ft 6
20 ft.
HIGH ROCK
7ft Above Court
TERRACE
Pool
2 ft Deep
Tree
Tree
Main Entrance
5ft 7in
GRASS COURT
Trees
Main Approach
5ft 6
14 Steps
4ft 6
Tree
Tomb
TOMB CHAMBER
TOMB CHAMBER
13 ft 10in
13 ft in
12 ft 6in
LOWER COURT
14 ft
9 ft
TO DEIR
c. 200 Yards

(See Chapter XI)

Dair High Place

> was dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, Let me depart, that I may go to mine own country. Then Pharaoh said unto him, But what hast thou lacked with me, that, behold, thou seekest to go to thine own country? And he answered, Nothing: howbeit only let me depart (1 Kings 11:21-22).[2]

From this it may be safely inferred that Hadad, upon his return home, regained the sovereignty and actually ruled as king over Edom. This fact in itself, of course, would not necessarily preclude the possibility of Solomon's introducing Edomite women into his harem (1 Kings 11:1). Doubtless Hadad did Solomon all the "mischief" he could in order to weaken his power; but, despite all Hadad could do, Solomon was able to retain possession of Edom's important naval station, Ezion-geber, located at the head of the modern Gulf of 'Aḳabah, which is the eastern arm of the Red Sea. For, we are informed that

> King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon. . . . And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug-trees and precious stones. And the king made of the almug-trees pillars for the house

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[2] Winckler (*Alttestamentliche Untersuchen,* pp. 1-15) discovers two separate and independent narratives in 1 Kings 11:14-22, in one of which the *Edomite* Hadad is carried into Egypt by his father's servants and brought up by Pharaoh's queen; while, in the other, Adah, a *Midianite* prince, flees with certain adherents into Egypt taking with him certain Edomites from Paran, and is well received by Pharaoh, who gives him for a wife Anoth, the sister of his queen. A son is born to him, but of his fate we are not informed. (For a fuller analysis of the text as divided by Winckler, see C. F. Burney's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings,* pp. 158-160).

> of Jehovah, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for the singers: there came no such almug-trees nor were seen, unto this day (1 Kings 9:26-28; 10:11-12).

Thus, during the whole of Solomon's long reign, Edom remained in subjection to Israel; similar relations between Edom and Israel prevailed also for many years after the revolt of the Ten Tribes under Jeroboam (ca. 940 B.C.). But conditions fluctuated; for, the Edomites repeatedly attempted without success to shake off the yoke of Judah in order to be independent. In similar fashion, Moab was held under the dominion of North Israel for generations; the territory of both Israel and Judah being thereby greatly augmented.

At the opening of the ninth century B.C., Edom was still without independence; being very probably in subjection to Judah. The author of 1 Kings states: "There was no king in Edom; a deputy was king" (1 Kings 22:47).[3]

By this he doubtless meant that there was no independent king in Edom at that time; only a nominee of the Judean king. The Targum paraphrases it thus: "There was no king in Edom *appointed,* but a general was king." This explanation corresponds with the rendering of the Vulgate. *"Nec erat tunc rex constitutus in Edom";* it likewise agrees with that of the Peshitto. Apparently Jehoshaphat maintained tight hold upon Edom, imposing upon the Edomites a ruler who was primarily acceptable to Judah. The authority which Jehoshaphat thus apparently possessed over the Edomites must have been the result of some signal disaster sustained by them, such as that which the graphic, if not idealized, account in 2 Chronicles 20:1-30 describes.

In any case, Edom's "king" was subject to Judah to the extent that Jehoshaphat still held Ezion-geber. The author of 1 Kings unquestionably gives this impression when he says: "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber" (1 Kings 22:48).

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[3] That a mere "deputy" should be dignified with the title of "King" is noteworthy.

Some unrecorded catastrophe must have befallen the fleet sent to Ophir for gold!

Not long after this, this same "deputy" of Edom, or his successor, aided Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah in their attack on the southern border of Moab; for,

> It came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel. And king Jehoram went out of Samaria at that time, and mustered all Israel. And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy horses. And he said, Which way shall we go up? And he answered, The way of the wilderness of Edom. So the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the king of Edom; and they made a circuit of seven days' journey; etc. (2 Kings 3:5-9).[4]

How powerful "the king" of Edom was at this time is a question. According to Nöldeke, "the utmost that can be conceded is that 'the king of Edom' was a prince subject to Judah." For, shortly after this, in the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, Edom successfully revolted and set up a king of its own.

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[4] The Moabites were worsted in the beginning of the conflict; for Mesha with seven hundred picked men attempted to break through into Edom but was foiled. But as a last resort, Mesha adopted the desperate expedient of offering up his eldest son as a human sacrifice upon the wall of the city. Terrified by this awful sight, which they believed would bring upon them the immediate wrath of the local Moabite deity, the Edomite and Israelite invaders hurriedly decamped (2 Kings 3:27).

> In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves. Then Joram passed over to Zair, and all his chariots with him; and he rose up by night, and smote the Edomites that compassed him about, and the captains of the chariots; and the people fled to their tents. So Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day (2 Kings 8:20-22; cf. 2 Chron. 21:8-10).

Thus, Jehoram failed in subduing Edom at this time. A single night's raid with chariots was not enough to restore Judah's authority in Edom. Quite possibly the Edomites had the Moabites as their allies at that time, who, like themselves were disaffected through long subjection to the Hebrews. The disaffection had spread, we know, into the south of Judah as far as to Libnah.

But, conditions changed with the aggressive policy of Assyria to conquer the West Land (Syria and Palestine). In the reign of Adad-nirari IV (810-781 B.C.), Edom became a dependent, tribute-paying vassal to the king of Assyria, along with the house of Omri (i.e., North Israel), and the Philistines, the Hittites, Tyre and Sidon. In the year 806, in 803, and in 797 Adad-nirari made expeditions to the West, and exacted heavy tribute from all these countries, even humbling Damascus, and taking from her great spoils. Most of the peoples had already paid large indemnities to Assyria; only Edom and Philistia are named as fresh conquests.[5]

Some fifty years later, Amaziah, king of Judah, invaded Edom, slaying ten thousand in the Valley of Salt, capturing Sela', their rock-girt metropolis (Petra), which he named Joktheel. The author of Kings says of Amaziah: "He slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt ten thousand, and took Sela' by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day" (2 Kings 14:7).

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[5] Cf. R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria,* ii, pp. 255-56.

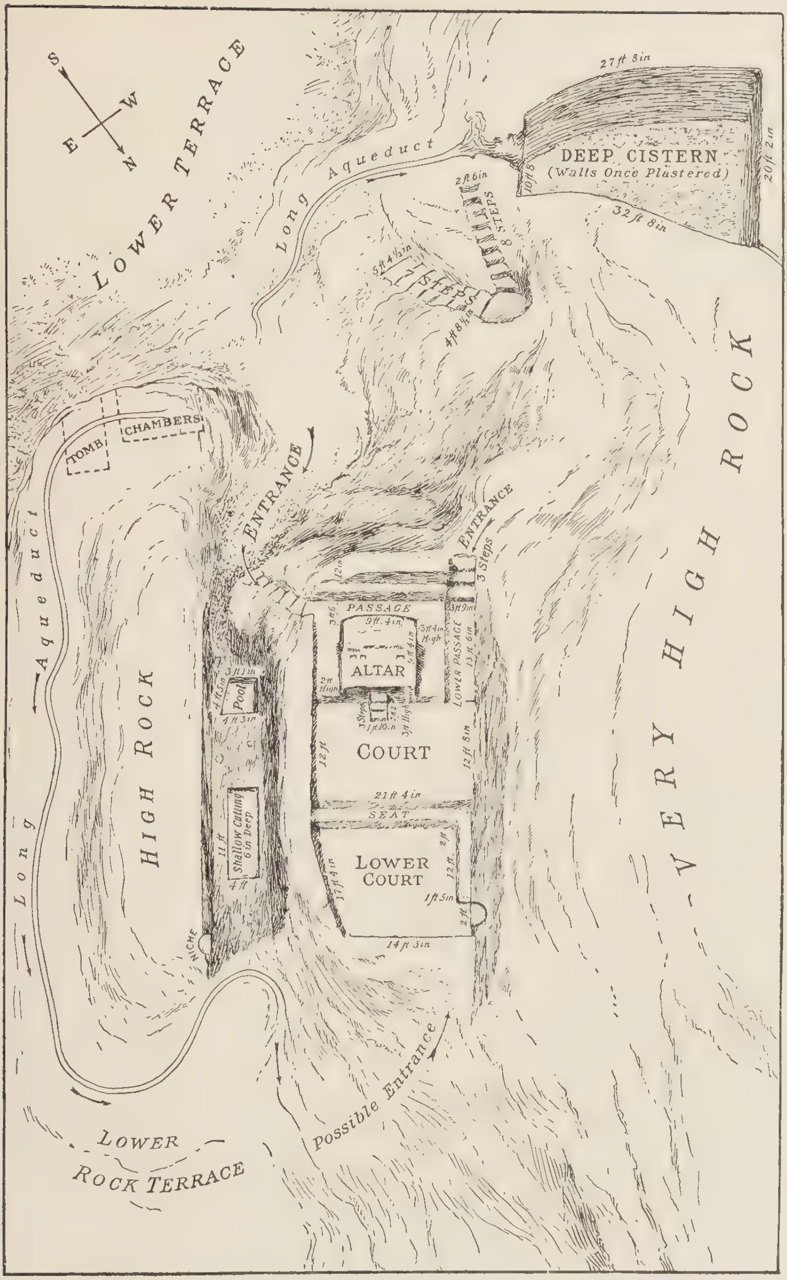
This was a great victory; but its moral effect upon Amaziah was fatal: he became arrogant and very self-confident. Not long afterwards he challenged Jehoash, king of Israel, "to look him in the face," and fight. Jehoash answered his challenge in words of gracious warning, saying: "Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thy heart hath lifted thee up: glory thereof and abide at home; for why shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest fall, even thou, and Judah with thee?" (2 Kings 14:10).

The Chronicler gives other details concerning Amaziah's character which are religiously even more interesting; he says,

> Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense to them. Wherefore the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, who said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which have not delivered their own people out of thy hand? . . . But Amaziah would not hear; for it was of God, that he might deliver them into the hand of their enemies, because they had sought after the gods of Edom (2 Chron. 25:14, 15, 20).

Amaziah's successor, Azariah (also called Uzziah), recovered to Judah Elath, the famous seaport of Edom, which the kings of Judah had come to regard as of high commercial value to them for purposes of both exportation and importation. In 2 Kings, we read of Azariah, that "he built Elath and restored it to Judah" (14:22).

It was during this period, probably, that Edom, as the


S
W
E
N
LOWER TERRACE
Long Aqueduct
27 ft 8 in
DEEP CISTERN
(Walls Once Plastered)
10 ft 8
20 ft 2 in
32 ft 8 in
2 ft 6 in
8 STEPS
5 ft 4½ in
7 STEPS
4 ft 8¼ in
CHAMBERS
TOMB
ENTRANCE
ENTRANCE
3 Steps
12 in
PASSAGE
3 ft 6
3 ft 9 in
9 ft. 4 in
3 ft 4 in High
9 ft 4 in
ALTAR
2 ft High
LOWER PASSAGE
13 ft 6 in
3 Steps
1 ft 10 in
2 ft 2
3 ft High
COURT
12 ft
12 ft 8 in
21 ft 4 in
SEAT
LOWER COURT
17 ft 4 in
2 ft
12 ft
1 ft 5 in
2 ft
14 ft 3 in
3 ft 11 in
Pool
4 ft 5 in
4 ft 3 in
Shallow Cutting 6 in Deep
11 ft
4 ft
NICHE
HIGH ROCK
Long Aqueduct
VERY HIGH ROCK
Possible Entrance
LOWER ROCK TERRACE

(See Chapter XI)

Khirbet an-Nasara High Place

prophet Amos informs us, was busily engaged in buying from Gaza and Tyre Hebrew slaves (Amos 1:6, 9); and, also, that the Moabites "burned the bones of the King of Edom into lime" (Amos 2:1).

Not long after this, however, in the reign of Ahaz, Rezin, king of Damascus, took Elath from Judah and colonized it with Edomites:

> Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath; and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there, unto this day (2 Kings 16:5, 6).[6]

Thus, Elath was finally and permanently wrested from Hebrew domination. Ahaz was one of the weakest of Judah's kings. Being young, he persistently resented the counsel of the prophet Isaiah. The Edomites took advantage of his weakness, and temporarily, at least, reëstablished their independence. Ahaz appealed for help against his enemies, to Tiglath-pileser IV (745-727 B.C.), the king of Assyria, who, perceiving the opportunity which was thus afforded him in the West, promptly responded. To him, indeed, we owe the name of Edom's ruling monarch at this time, namely, Kaush-malak, from whom Tiglath-pileser claims he exacted tribute. The Chronicler describes the situation in brief words, thus: "At that time did king Ahaz send unto the kings of Assyria to help him. For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives" (2 Chron. 28:16, 17).

Kaush-malak's raids on the territory of Judah, however, were soon ended by the presence of Tiglath-pileser upon the scene, who with his forces invaded the West Land in order to insure the trade highways to Egypt. To this end he subjugated the independent principalities of Syria and established Assyrian provinces, persuading the more distant kings and chiefs to recognize his dominion. All the neighboring tribes south of Damascus and east of the Dead Sea were forced to recognize Assyrian domination. "The real political power of the Assyrians extended during that time no farther south than the northern end of the Gulf of 'Aḳaba, and in the desert to the east no farther south than the northern end of the depression of Sirhan." [7]

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[6] Instead of "Syrians" in this passage the Septuagint more correctly reads "Edomites."

Hezekiah (727-699 B.C.) inherited from his father Ahaz king of Judah, a very weak kingdom. Assyria's constant levy of tribute was beginning to be felt as a heavy drain upon the country's resources. According to Manetho, Shabaka, the founder of the twenty-fifth dynasty of Egypt, sent agents through Edom to excite the people to revolt against Assyrian aggression in the West. The burden of paying heavy tribute surely justified the movement. Edom was disposed to respond. Shabaka promised Egypt's assistance against the Assyrian suzerain of Edom. Mindful of Egypt's power and prestige, Edom with Moab and Philistia, and other smaller neighboring states, refused longer to serve Assyria. This refusal precipitated a whole series of subsequent crises.[8] Judah, alone, under the prophetic influence of Isaiah, foresaw the futility of relying upon Egypt against Assyria (Isa. 31). Sargon II, who was now the great ruler of Assyria, undertook an expedition into the southern part of Edom and beyond, where certain Arab tribes had their camping grounds; he attacked the marauders and drove them north to settle in Samaria. Because of this victory even the chief of the Sabeans was obliged to send gifts. This happened about 715 B.C.[9]

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[7] According to Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta,* 1927, pp. 477-79; who cites as authority, *The Annals of Tiglath-pileser IV.*

[8] Cf. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt,* pp. 550-51.

When in 705 B.C., Sennacherib came to the Assyrian throne, Merodach-Baladan, the ever recalcitrant and ambitious claimant of the Babylonian throne, and the avowed enemy of Assyria, sent emissaries to the West Land to stir up disaffection against the new king of Assyria. As a result of his embassy, Luli the energetic king of Tyre, and Hezekiah king of Judah, and the dynasts of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, together with the chiefs of the neighboring Bedouin tribes, organized themselves into one powerful alliance against Sennacherib. But, the great Assyrian was not slow in dissipating the rebellion. He marched westward; indeed, he made several expeditions to the West Land, and repeatedly humbled all these states, capturing camels and taking large booty, and compelling their chiefs to kiss his feet. Malikram is explicitly mentioned as the king of Edom who bowed to his authority.

During the long reign of Manasseh, king of Judah, Kaush-gabre, the king of Edom, is declared to have paid tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681-668 B.C.). According to the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, queen Telhunu of Adumu (on the east of Edom) went over to the Assyrians; indeed, her local gods and the queen herself were all captured by the king and taken to Nineveh.

The inscriptions of Esarhaddon also inform us that he not only completed the armory of Nineveh, which his father Sennacherib had begun, but, wishing to develop a new suburb of the city, he turned to Lebanon for the materials with which to construct the terraces and palaces he planned to erect. Accordingly he impressed Baal the king of Tyre,

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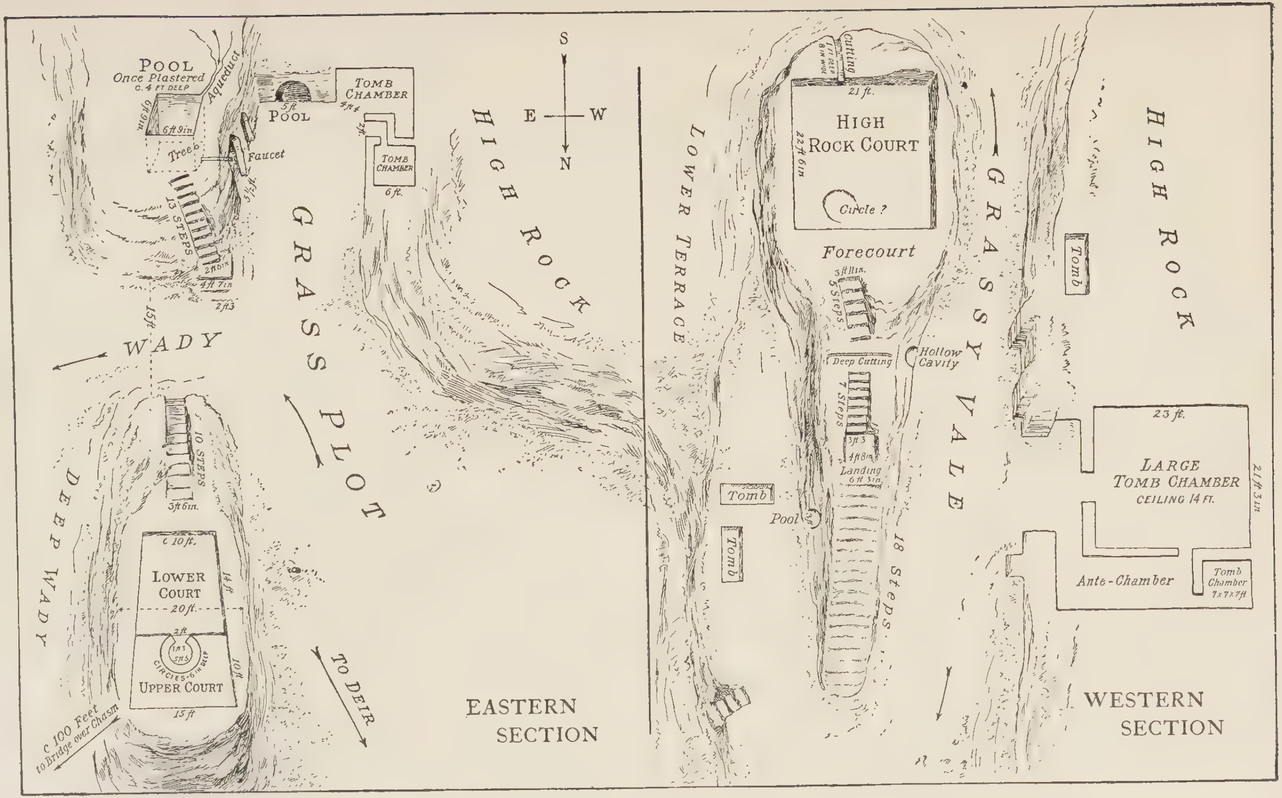
[9] Cf. A. Musil. *Arabia Deserta,* 1927, p. 479; who cites in substantiation of these and similar statements the *Great Inscription of Khorsabad.* The Sabeans are mentioned in Job 1:15.


POOL
Once Plastered
C. 4 FT DEEP
Aqueduct
6ft 9in
6ft 9in
Tree
Faucet
5½ft
13 STEPS
2ft 10in
4ft 7in
2ft 3
5ft
POOL
TOMB CHAMBER
4ft 4
2ft
TOMB CHAMBER
6ft.
S
E
W
N
HIGH ROCK
GRASS PLOT
15ft
WADY
10 STEPS
3ft 6in.
c 10ft.
LOWER COURT
14ft
20ft.
2ft
CIRCLES-6IN DEEP
10ft
UPPER COURT
15ft
DEEP WADY
c 100 Feet to Bridge over Chasm
TO DEIR
EASTERN SECTION
LOWER TERRACE
Cutting
1 FT DEEP 8 IN WIDE
21 ft.
HIGH ROCK COURT
22ft 6in
Circle ?
Forecourt
3ft 11in.
5 Steps
Deep Cutting
Hollow Cavity
7 Steps
3ft 3
4ft 8in
Landing 6ft 3in.
Tomb
Pool
3ft
Tomb
18 Steps
GRASSY VALE
Tomb
HIGH ROCK
23 ft.
LARGE TOMB CHAMBER
CEILING 14 FT.
21ft 3in
Ante-Chamber
Tomb Chamber 7x7x7ft
WESTERN SECTION

(See Chapter XI)

Valley High Place

Manasseh the king of Judah, Chemosh-gabre the king of Edom, Musuṛi "the Egyptian" ruler of Moab, Sil-Bel the king of Ascalon, and at least six other semi-independent kings on the west coast, who furnished him with timber from Mt. Lebanon, and precious stones.

During the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), also, Edom was further weakened. A certain chief of the desert Arabs, named Yatha, plundered both Edom and Syria, carrying off sheep and camels and much booty; after which this marauding shaikh of the wilderness fled to the Nabateans and disappeared.[10]

Finally, just after the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when Edom was severely weakened, and was almost a national wreck, having suffered long from neighboring tribes and having completely exhausted her financial resources, like Moab, she was inveigled by Zedekiah, king of Judah, into out-and-out revolt against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who threatened Jerusalem. She even sent an embassy to Jerusalem to complete the alliance. Accordingly, she did not escape the fatal blow which descended upon Jerusalem. Many of the Jews had already fled to Edom for refuge (Jer. 40:11).

But the remnant of the Edomites, who escaped capture themselves, rejoiced over Jerusalem's downfall (Lam. 4:21, 22; Ezek. 35:15; cf. Ps. 137:7); and even seized the opportunity of occupying Jewish territory (Ezek. 36:5). Those who migrated to Judah became known henceforth as "Idumæans."

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[10] Cf. R. W. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria,* ii, pp. 458ff.

XXVII

THE HISTORY OF THE IDUMÆANS

SHORTLY after Jerusalem's fall and Judah's exile to Babylon in 586 B.C., the Edomites migrated, for some reason, from their particular home in Mt. Seir, to southern Judah and the adjacent portions of the Negeb, and from that time onward they were known as Idumæans. An analogy, it will be remembered, took place in the history of Israel; for, prior to Israel's captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, their history is usually spoken of as "the history of the Hebrews," whereas, after their captivity, we are accustomed to speak of their history as "the history of the Jews."

It was the Greeks who gave the Edomites their new name, and spoke of their new home in southern Judah as "Idumæa." The latter occurs once in the New Testament (Mk. 3:8).

Their migration was apparently due to the northern movement of the desert Arabs known as the Nabateans, who suddenly emerged out of the wilds of Central Arabia. For a long time they threatened Edomite territory, pushing steadily nearer and nearer in the direction of Mt. Seir, until at some time during the sixth century B.C. they succeeded in expelling the sons of Esau from their mountain fastnesses, and took possession of the rock-city of Petra. The history of the Nabateans forms a chapter by itself; but, here, it must be observed that the migration of the Edomites from Mt. Seir to southern Judah cannot be dissociated from the invasion of the Nabateans who drove them from their old home. Indeed, the invasion of the latter and the migration of the former stand in the relation of cause and effect.[1]

Being forced to cross the 'Arabah, the Edomites occupied territory which probably was then but partially inhabited. Ezekiel confirms this opinion, when, speaking for Jehovah, he denounces Edom for having "appointed *my* land unto themselves for a possession with the joy of all their heart, with despite of soul, to cast it out for a prey" (36:5). Finding the district between the southern half of the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean sparsely settled, the new immigrants naturally pressed in and made the land their own. Whether they were compelled to struggle in order to obtain possession of this district is unknown, but the probabilities are that they found it quite reduced, if not well-nigh forsaken; and, accordingly, merely took advantage of Judah's unfortunate condition.

If we inquire a little more precisely as to the particular date when they actually occupied these decimated and all but deserted portions of Judah, it is possible to cite certain prophetic allusions which seem to point to the middle of the sixth century B.C. For example, Ezekiel, who prophesied from 592 till 570 B.C., predicts that not only Ammon and Moab, but Edom also shall be invaded and made desolate by "the children of the east" (25:1-14); alluding very probably to the invasion of Mt. Seir by the Nabateans.[2] The prophet Zechariah is a first-class witness to the disturbed character of Judah prior to his own time. Writing in 518 B.C., he says: "Should ye not hear the words which Jehovah cried by the former prophets, when Jerusalem was

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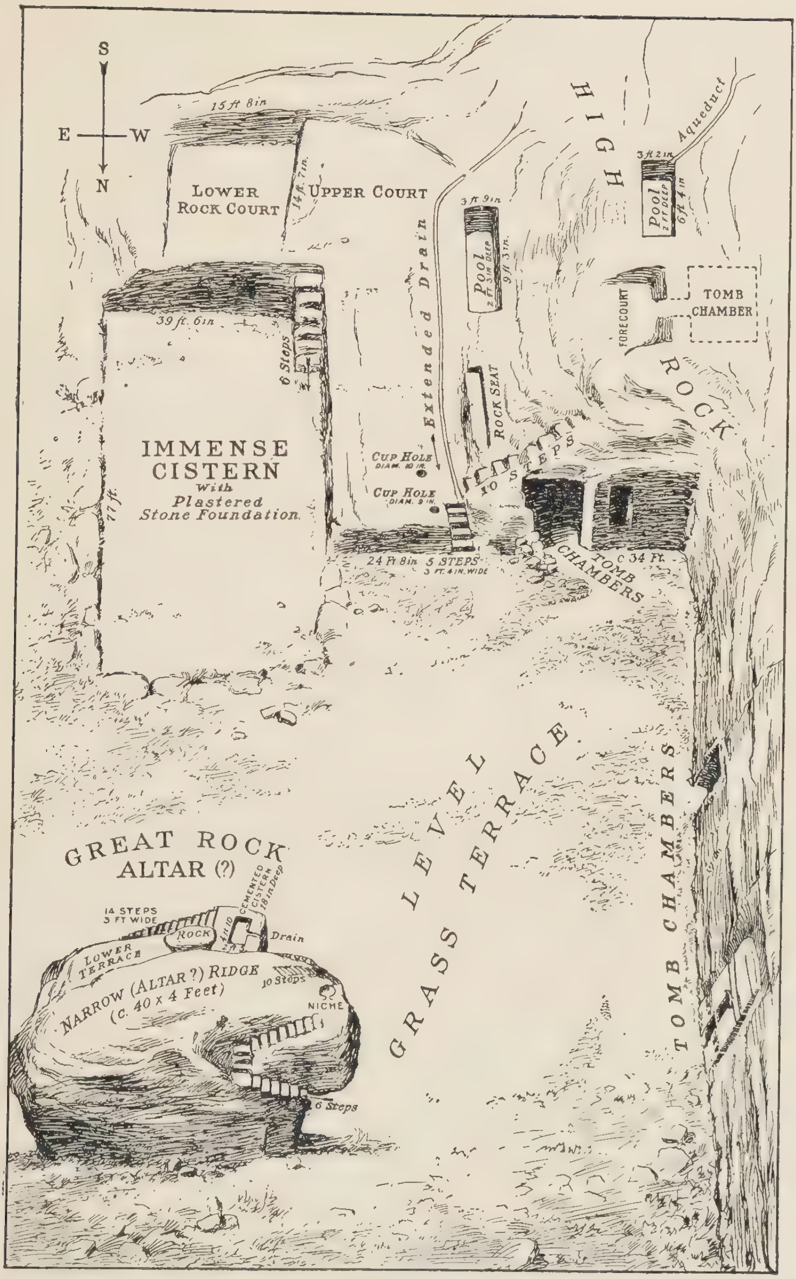
[1] Cf. Strabo, *Geography,* XVI, 2, 34; R. A. S. Macalister, art., "Idumæa" in Hastings' one vol. *Dict. of the Bible,* p. 376.

[2] So Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorbreitung,* V, p. 205; and Torrey, "The Edomites in Southern Judah," *Journal Bibl. Lit.,* 1898, I, p. 17n.; Torrey cites Obadiah 19 as further evidence of a Nabatean migration, but the date of Obadiah is too uncertain, and the text of this particular verse too insecure, to add much to the argument.


S
E
W
N
15 ft 8 in
LOWER ROCK COURT
14 ft. 7 in.
UPPER COURT
39 ft. 6 in
6 Steps
IMMENSE CISTERN
With Plastered Stone Foundation.
77 ft.
Extended Drain
3 ft 9 in
Pool
2 ft 3 in Deep
9 ft 3 in.
ROCK SEAT
CUP HOLE
DIAM. 10 IN.
CUP HOLE
DIAM. 9 IN.
24 Ft 8 in
5 STEPS
3 FT. 4 IN. WIDE
10 STEPS
TOMB CHAMBERS
c 34 Ft.
HIGH
ROCK
Aqueduct
3 ft 2 in
Pool
2 FT DEEP
6 ft 4 in
FORECOURT
TOMB CHAMBER
LEVEL GRASS TERRACE.
TOMB CHAMBERS
GREAT ROCK ALTAR (?)
14 STEPS
3 FT WIDE
ROCK
4 ft 10
2 ft 3
CEMENTED CISTERN 18 in Deep
Drain
LOWER TERRACE
NARROW (ALTAR ?) RIDGE
(c. 40 x 4 Feet)
10 Steps
NICHE
6 Steps

(See Chapter XI)

Southwest High Place

inhabited and in prosperity, and the cities thereof round about her, and the South and the lowland were inhabited?" (7:7).[3] Obviously, Zechariah here refers to the invasion of southern Palestine by the Edomites; for, it was not long prior to the prophet's time that some such calamity overtook the land. Nöldeke confirms this conclusion, saying, "We can scarcely doubt that from the time of the Babylonian exile (586 B.C.) the Edomites held this territory, which, though for the most part not very fertile, was preferable to their original home."[4] Such an interpretation of Zechariah does not certainly preclude the possibility of additional Jews, besides those under Cyrus in 536 B.C., returning later in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (458-445 B.C.) and settling in the still unoccupied portions of Judah and Benjamin (cf. Neh. 11:25-36). Nor does it require us to think that the Edomites were compelled by the Persians to evacuate and give up their recently acquired possessions to the Jews.[5] Rather, with Torrey, it is better to conclude that when the Edomites first came into southern Palestine they came to stay![6]

To what extent the Edomites overran Judah and occupied it is another question; but, according to 1 Maccabees 4:29; 5:65, Hebron and Bethzur were already in their possession (ca. 150 B.C.). And we know, from Mark 3:7, 8, that among the followers of our Lord from almost the beginning of his ministry (ca. 27 A.D.), many were from

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[3] Torrey (*idem,* pp. 17, 18) renders the last clause of this passage, "When Jerusalem and the surrounding cities were still in quiet, and when *the Negeb and the Shephelah were still undisturbed*" (the italics being his).

[4] Art., "Edom," *Encyc. Biblica,* col. 1186.

[5] As Smend, *Listen,* pp. 21ff.; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Is.,* ii, pp. 111f.; Buhl, *Die Geschichte der Edomiter,* p. 77, are inclined to think. Buhl, for example, advocates that after retiring from southern Judah, they took possession of it a second time. For this, however, there is absolutely no evidence. Herzfeld, *Geschichte,* 1847, i, p. 475, was the first to suggest such a view.

[6] *Journal Bibl. Lit.,* 1898, I, p. 18.

Judæa and Idumæa. George Adam Smith makes Idumæa of that time to include the southern Shephelah with the Negeb; adding, that "the Edomites had come upon it during the Jewish exile, and after the return of the Jews they continued to hold the greater part of it." [7] According to Diodorus Siculus [8] writing between 60 and 57 B.C., in a passage based upon the contemporaneous testimony of Hieronymus of Kardia, southern Judæa was already called "Idumæa" as early as in 312 B.C. A century later Josephus speaks of two villages named Betavis (Beit Jibrîn) and Caphtobas (Tuffaḥ) near Hebron, as being situated "in the very midst of Idumæa." Josephus included in "Idumæa" not only Mt. Seir, but the land of the Amalekites lying west of Mt. Seir, and Akrabatine, the ancient 'Aḳrabbim, southwest of the Dead Sea.[9] Ptolemy, the Geographer (v. 16), on the other hand, in the second century A.D., restricted Idumæa to the Cis-Jordanic area; Trans-Jordanic Edom having already been absorbed into the province of Arabia Petræa; while Jerome (ca. 400 A.D.), defines the territory of Idumæa as extending from Beit Jibrîn to Petra, ascribing the artificial caves at Beit Jibrîn to the Troglodyte Horites.

Whatever the extent of Idumæa originally may have been, it is certain that when the sons of Esau came into Palestine in the sixth century B.C., they settled in close juxtaposition, and stood face to face with their age-long brothers and rivals, the sons of Jacob. Whether Cyrus in 536 B.C. dislodged them from certain parts of Judah in order to give the returning exiles of Israel a foothold, we do not know; but it is more likely, as Ewald observed three-quarters of a century ago, that "this monarch was by no means prepared to expel the Idumæans from the land which they had already occupied and cultivated for fifty or sixty years."[10] On the other hand, the prophet Malachi (458-432 B.C.), points to them as the objects of Jehovah's displeasure in his day, and as a people "against whom Jehovah hath indignation forever," saying, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated"; by which he probably meant, that the Israelites have already been brought back from captivity, but the Edomites are still in exile, having been expelled by the Nabateans (Mal. 1:1-5).[11]

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[7] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* p. 239.

[8] *Bibliotheca Historica,* XIX, 98.

[9] *Wars of the Jews,* IV, 8, I.

During all the centuries of their occupation of Judah, the Jews regarded them with suspicion. Their unbrotherly treatment of them on the occasion of Jerusalem's downfall in 586 B.C. was never forgotten (Ps. 137:7). In 164 B.C. Judas Maccabeus fought them with triumphant success (1 Macc. 5:3). Less than fifty years thereafter John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) completely conquered them, not only wresting from them two of their most powerful strongholds, Adora and Mareshah, and placing them under a Jewish governor, but compelling them also to submit to circumcision and the Jewish law.[12] These concessions, in the opinion of Josephus, made them proselytes of justice and truly Jewish.[13] Ever afterwards they were regarded by the Jews as an integral part of the Jewish people; though Antigonus reproached Herod for being only "half-Jew."[14]

The coming of the Romans into Palestine during the first century B.C. greatly changed the complexion of the country. Not only did they take full possession of Palestine proper,

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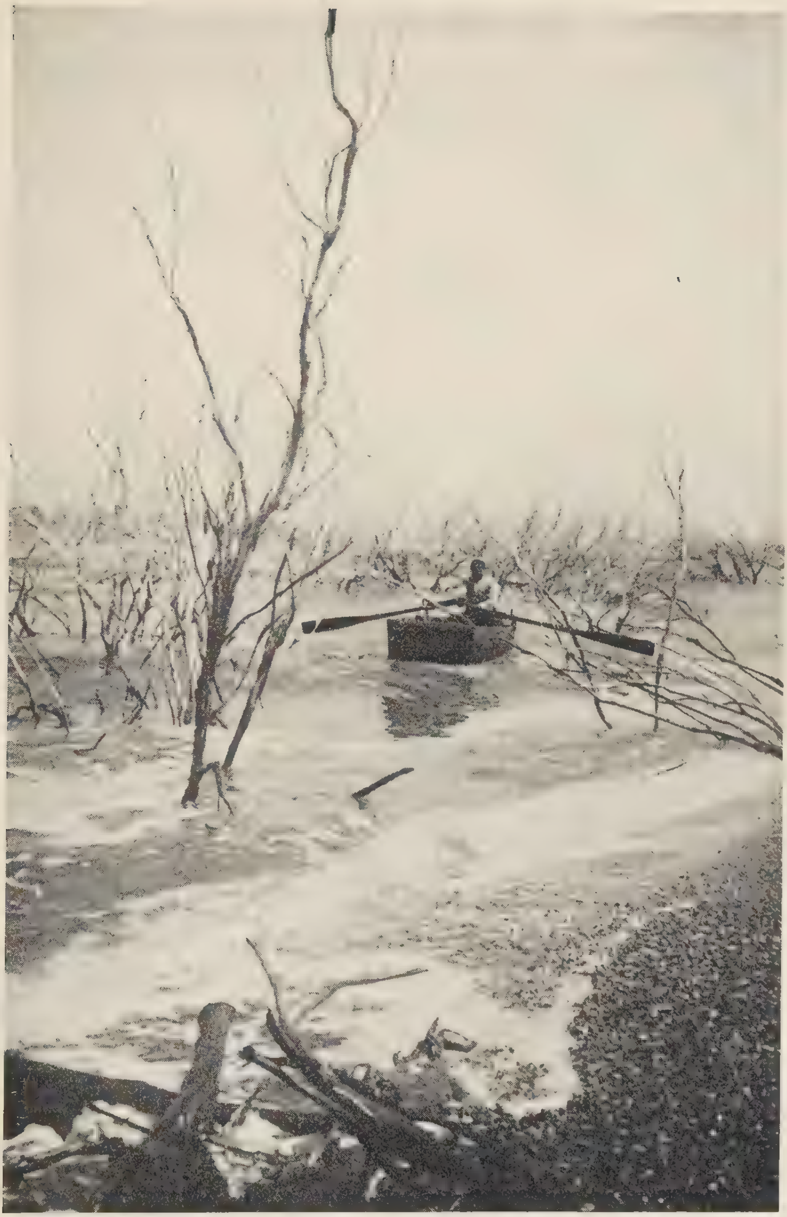
[10] *History of Israel,* V, p. 82.

[11] Buhl, on the contrary, interprets Malachi 1:1-5 as though, at that time, the Edomites dwelt in their own mountains only, and not partly in Judah (*Geschichte der Edomiter,* p. 78).

[12] According to Deut. 23:7, 8, "the children of the third generation [of Edom] shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah."

[13] *Antiquities,* xiii, 9, 1; xiv, 8, 1.

[14] *Idem,* xiv, 15, 2.



(See Chapter XIV) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Submerged forest at south end of Dead Sea they eventually took Petra and reduced the whole territory formerly known as Edom to the status of a Roman province. In 47 B.C., Julius Cæsar appointed Antipater, who was a clever but crafty Idumæan, as procurator of Judæa, Samaria and Galilee.[15] In 37 B.C., the Roman Senate appointed Herod as "king of the Jews"; later he came to be known as "Herod the Great." Herod, in turn, established his own brother-in-law, the Idumæan Costobarus, a priest of Koze, as ruler of Idumæa and Gaza.[16] This was the beginning of the Herodian dynasty.

Henceforth, the Idumæans were reckoned as Jews, and their land was counted as one of the eleven tetrarchies of Judæa.[17] But the union between them and the Jews proved of little blessing; rather, they became an element of weakness to the Jews, and in the moment of need they treacherously betrayed them to Rome. By nature they were cruel and barbarous, fierce and turbulent. At the time the Romans under Titus besieged Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the Idumæans, along with the Zealot party, early joined in the rebellion against the foe. Through the influence of John of Gischala, as Josephus informs us, twenty thousand Idumæans were allowed access to the Holy City, only to fill the city with robbery and bloodshed. They spared nobody. The outer Temple was completely covered with blood; eighty-five hundred perished there in one day. But the rage of the Idumæans was not confined to the Temple precincts; they betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew everyone they met. Most ruthlessly they massacred the priests, even standing with their coarse feet upon their bodies to defile them, and casting them forth without respectful burial. Even Ananus, the high priest, fell a victim to their savage rage. He was a just and venerable man, Josephus tells us, noble, dignified, a lover of liberty and democracy, preferring peace above all things. After his death, and the massacre of the other priests, the bloodthirsty Idumæans fell upon the people in general, as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats wherever they caught them. Those who escaped immediate death were scourged and tortured until they died. Those whom they caught in the daytime were slain in the night, and their bodies were carried out and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either to weep openly for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; those who were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for, if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death as those for whom they mourned.[18]

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[15] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiv, 8, 5.

[16] *Idem*, xv, 7, 9; xx, 9, 4.

[17] *Idem, Wars of the Jews,* III, 3, 5.

With the tragic fall of Jerusalem, the Idumæans, as a nation, pass off the stage of history and disappear entirely from human sight; yet, later Rabbinical writers continued to use the name "Edom"—the most abhorred of all their enemies—as a designation for Rome! And the name "Idumæa," as a geographical term, continued to be applied to the southern part of Palestine and the Negeb as late as the time of Jerome.[19] Surely Isaac drew an accurate picture of Edomitic character, when, in his blessing upon Esau, he predicted, "By thy sword shalt thou live" (Gen. 27:40). War and rapine were their chief profession.

> By the sword they got Mt. Seir, by the sword they exterminated the Horites; by the sword they long battled with their brethren the children of Israel and

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[18] Josephus, *Wars of the Jews,* IV, 2-5.

[19] *Comm. on Obadiah.*

finally broke off their yoke; by the sword they won southern Palestine, and by the sword they performed the last act of their long historic drama, massacring the guards and priesthood of the Temple, and pillaging the city of Jerusalem![20]

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[20] J. L. Porter, art., "Edomites," Smith's *Dict. of the Bible,* I, p. 664.

XXVIII

THE HISTORY OF THE NABATEANS

By Professor Arthur P. Scott, University of Chicago

In tracing the history of the land of Edom, we find that about the middle of the fourth century B.C. much territory once held by the Edomites was then in the possession of another people, called the Nabateans. Still later we find the Edomites practically incorporated into the Jewish state under the Maccabees, while the Nabateans gained steadily in importance until by the first century B.C. they were one of the most important powers in the East.

Their capital city was Petra, some sixty miles south of the Dead Sea, the Sela‘ of the Old Testament. But their territory extended far to the north and south—north to Ḥauran, at times including Damascus and parts of Cœle-Syria; and on the south reaching some distance down the Red Sea. Other important cities besides the capital were Bostra, the great trade-center in Ḥauran; al-Ḥegr, in northern Arabia on the caravan route to the south; and Leuke Kome, the most important seaport, situated probably near the mouth of the bay of ‘Aḳabah.

The rediscovery of the ruins of Petra in 1812, and the large number of inscriptions and coins found in widely separated parts of the Nabatean Kingdom, have led to a more careful study of this interesting people, and to a more adequate appreciation of their importance.[1]

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[1] Our first-hand sources are, however, disappointingly scanty. They are: a few possible references in the Bible; brief notices in the Assyrian records; a few chapters in Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, and Strabo.

About the origin and the early history of the Nabateans there is considerable uncertainty. Nebaioth is mentioned in Genesis 25:13, as the first-born of Ishmael, and the progenitor of a tribe. Kedar is mentioned in the same connection. In Isaiah 60:7 the Nebaioth are mentioned as a pastoral people, again in connection with Kedar. In the Assyrian records an Arab tribe of Na-ba-ai-ti are mentioned, once more in close connection with the Kid-ra-ai. Finally, Pliny mentions the Nabatæi and the Cedrei together. Josephus says directly that the Nabateans of his day were the descendants of Nebaioth, and in spite of the philological difficulty involved, it seems more probable that the Nebaioth, the Nabaaiti, and the Nabateans were all one and the same people.[2]

The proper names in their inscriptions show conclusively that the Nabateans were an Arab tribe; but since Arabic was not at that time a literary language, Aramaic was used for official correspondence and inscriptions.[3]

The earliest historical reference which we have is in the Assyrian records of the campaigns of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.). The Nabatean King Nathu (or Nathan) joined with other northern Arabian leaders in assisting a revolt against the Assyrian monarch. This was in the year 647-646 B.C. When Ashurbanipal had put down the revolt, he led an expedition south from Damascus, punished the Arabs severely, and brought the Nabateans into subjection, but only for a brief period. Apparently the fighting took place in Ḥauran, but the territory of the Nabateans seems to have lain farther south in the desert.

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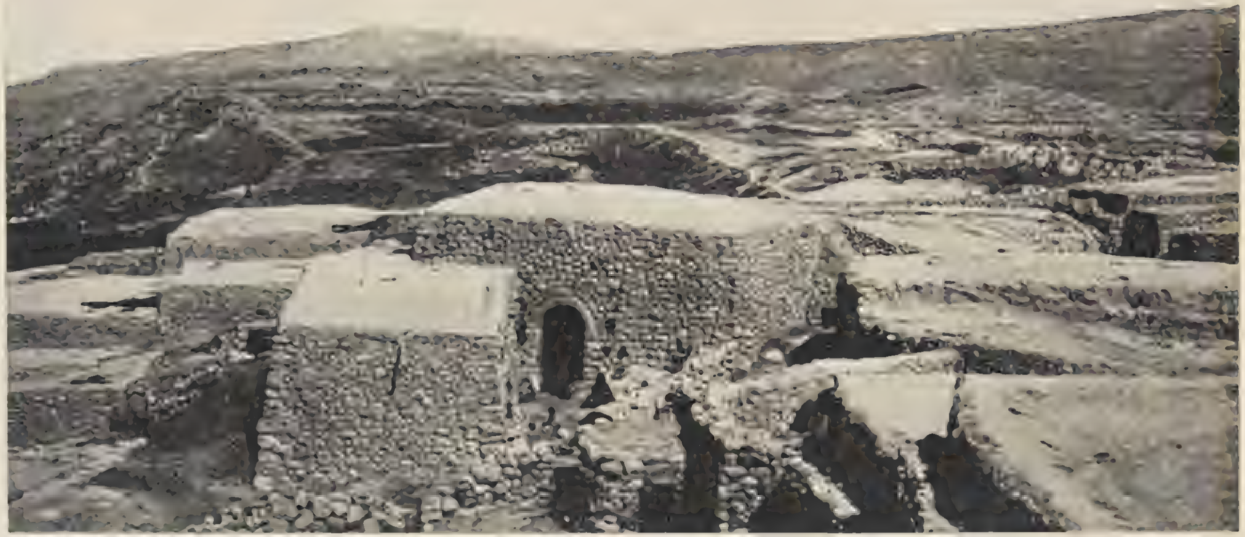
[2] Nebaioth is spelled in Aramaic with a *tau,* Nabateans with a *teth.* But cf. G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions,* 1903, 216.

[3] Quatremère's view (*Mémoire sur les Nabateans,* 1835) that the Nabateans were an Aramaic people from Mesopotamia is no longer held; cf., however, Poole's art., "Nebaioth" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible,* III, p. 2082. (See, further, Appendix VII.)



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(Photograph by the Author)

Bozrah, looking west

It is not possible to determine exactly when they occupied the Edomite territory of Seir and made Petra their chief stronghold, but it is highly probable that it was in the sixth century B.C. For, when the Jews were taken to Babylon, the Edomites pushed north to occupy their territory, and it would have been easy then for the Nabateans in turn to take a part of the Edomite territory.[4]

Our first detailed information about the Nabateans in their new stronghold comes from Diodorus Siculus. About 312 B.C. Antigonus, the Seleucid king of Syria, sent two unsuccessful expeditions against Petra. Antigonus surprised the town when the men were all away at a fair, seized a large quantity of booty, and withdrew. The Nabateans returned in haste, pursued the Syrians, and cut them to pieces by a night attack. Antigonus sent another force under his son Demetrius. But the Nabateans were warned this time, and fled with their flocks to the desert, leaving their other property under guard in an inaccessible rock-citadel. After vain attempts to capture this citadel, Demetrius accepted gifts and hostages and withdrew.

Diodorus tells us that at that time the Nabateans were an influential Arab tribe numbering some ten thousand men. They led a nomadic life, wandering about in search of pasturage for their sheep and camels. They were passionately fond of their liberty, and were able to preserve it by the simple expedient of scattering to different parts of the desert before the advance of an enemy of superior strength, until the invaders had to retire for lack of water. The Nabateans forbade agriculture and the building of houses as they thought that these would make it easier for an enemy to subdue them.

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[4] Unless, as stated above in Chapter XXVII, it was the Nabateans who first expelled the Edomites from their home and forced them to find a new home (cf. Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 2, 34).

But even in early times, the Nabateans had begun to do a carrying trade in myrrh, incense and valuable spices which they obtained from those who had brought them up from Central Arabia.

After these expeditions we hear nothing further until the time of the Maccabees. We may infer with certainty, however, that the Nabateans grew steadily in culture, and became more settled. They must have begun to build houses very shortly after 312, unless indeed Diodorus exaggerates, and they had started even sooner.[5]

The outline of the history as we now take it up is derived almost entirely from Josephus,[6] and is necessarily unsatisfactory in many respects, for we get information only when the Nabateans come into contact with the Jews or the Syrians. Unfortunately, no history written from the Nabatean standpoint exists.

In 169 B.C. the Jewish High Priest Jason was refused refuge by a certain Aretas, ruler of the Nabateans. This Aretas is the first of the name of whom we have record. We note that at this period the Nabatean territory extended as far north as Bashan. For we find (1 Macc. 5:25; 9:35) that in 164 B.C. Judas Maccabeus going three days the other side of Jordan, met the Nabateans, who came to meet him peaceably, and informed him how the affairs of those in the land of Gilead stood. Jonathan also sent his brother to the Nabatean Arabs, "for they were the Jews' friends."

But this friendly attitude did not long continue. By the end of the second century B.C. the Nabateans had gained a position of commanding influence. The Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ were becoming weaker and weaker, and the kings of Petra took advantage of the opportunity to extend their borders at the expense of their neighbors. Between 110 and 100 B.C. a Nabatean king named Erotimus was especially active in attacking Egypt and Syria. After this time the Nabatean Kingdom was an important factor in Eastern politics, and the alliance of the kings of Petra was eagerly sought.

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[5] For the text of Diodorus, see Appendix IV.

[6] In particular from his *Antiquities of the Jews,* Book xiii.

The Nabateans—or Arabs, as Josephus often calls them—came into frequent contact with the Jews, with the Syrians, and later with the Romans.

In 98 B.C. the Gazites were besieged by Alexander Jannæus, king of Judæa. Aretas II, "King of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious," encouraged them to resist. But the city fell before his promised help came.[7]

At the beginning of the first century B.C. the Seleucid Kingdom was fast approaching an end. The Asmonean Kingdom too, in Palestine, though apparently strong, had fatal elements of weakness in its internal discords. Obodas I, the successor of Aretas II, came into conflict with Alexander Jannæus. The latter took twelve cities from the Nabateans, including Zoar and Madeba. But about 90 B.C., joining battle with Obodas, he fell into an ambush, "and was thrown down into a deep valley by the multitude of camels, at Gadara."[8]

Shortly before 85 B.C. Aretas III became king of Petra, and he soon had an opportunity to show his ability. The Seleucid Kingdom was torn by the struggles of different claimants for the throne. Antiochus XII got into trouble with Alexander Jannæus and Aretas. Having defeated the former, he marched against the Arabians, but was defeated and killed. Aretas then took Damascus and Cœle-Syria.

This left the Nabateans the only real rivals of the Jews, for the king of Armenia, Tigranes, soon took the rest of

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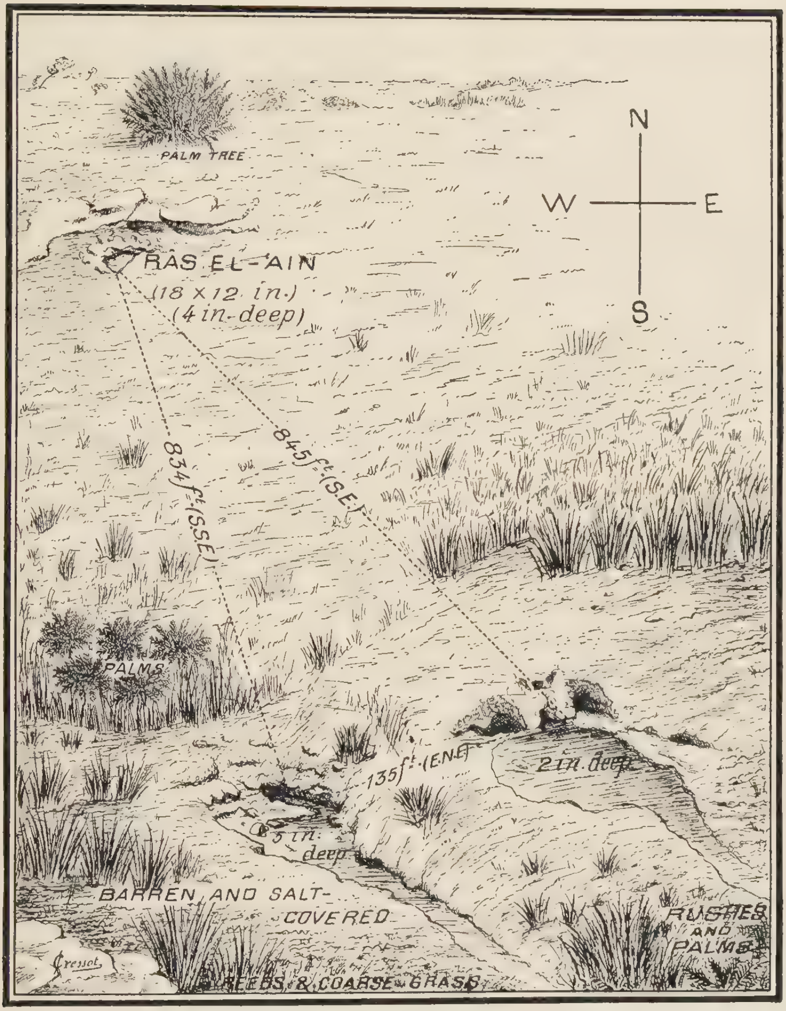
[7] *Antiq.,* xiii, 13, 3.

[8] *Antiq.,* xiii, 13, 5; *Wars of the Jews,* I, 4, 4.


PALM TREE
N
W
E
S
RAS EL-AIN
(18 x 12 in.)
(4 in-deep)
834 ft. (S.S.E.)
845 ft. (S.E.)
PALMS
135 ft. (E.N.E.)
2 in. deep
5 in. deep
BARREN AND SALT-COVERED
RUSHES AND PALMS
REEDS & COARSE GRASS
Cressot

(See Chapter XVII)

'Ain al-Weibeh

the Syrian territory, and held it till the Romans came in 69 B.C. Aretas made an expedition from Damascus into Judæa, and defeated Alexander. But Damascus cannot have remained long in the hands of the Nabateans, for we have a coin of the year 70 B.C. struck by the city as autonomous. We have another coin, however, struck in Damascus bearing the inscription BASILEUS ARETOU PHILELLENOS. It is interesting to note the inference of Hellenistic influence on the Nabateans which this title implies—an influence which even before this time can be traced in the architecture of the city of Petra.

It was in the long reign of Aretas III (ca. 85-60 B.C.) that the Nabateans first came into collision with the Romans. The latter under Lucullus had defeated Tigranes, and were then in a position to interfere in affairs farther south. Their opportunity arose in the following way:

After the death of Alexander in 78 B.C. and of Alexandra, his widow in 69 B.C. civil war broke out between Hyrcanus, the elder son, and Aristobulus, the younger son. Aristobulus defeated his brother, and took the throne. It was then that the Idumæan family, which later under the Herods ruled the country, came into prominence in Jewish and Nabatean affairs. A certain Antipater, made Governor of Idumæa by Alexander, had made friends with the Nabatean kings. His son, also named Antipater, was a friend of Hyrcanus, and a friend also of Aretas. Antipater was very rich, and moreover ambitious. Seeing that he would have more scope for his plans with the weak Hyrcanus on the throne than while the stronger Aristobulus was king, Antipater persuaded Hyrcanus to go to Petra. The aid of Aretas was secured by the promise to restore the twelve Nabatean cities which Alexander had taken. With a large force Aretas defeated Aristobulus and besieged him in the Temple. At this point Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant, entered the country. He decided that it was more to the Romans' advantage to help Aristobulus than Hyrcanus, so he ordered Aretas to withdraw from the country, which he did. Aristobulus attacked and defeated him as he was retreating. This interference of the Romans in the affairs of Palestine marked the beginning of the end of the independence of the Jews, and ultimately of the Nabateans.

When Pompey came to Damascus in the year 63 B.C. and assumed the right to settle all the disputes of the entire country, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before him urging their respective claims to the throne of Palestine. Pompey promised to settle the matter after he had carried out his plan of subduing the Nabateans. But his march against Petra was interrupted by the hostile action of Aristobulus, so Pompey turned aside, besieged Jerusalem, and captured it. Placing Scaurus over the entire country, Pompey returned to Rome.

Scaurus soon led an expedition against Petra, but found great difficulty in maintaining his army, owing to the lack of water and food. Finally, through the mediation of Antipater, Aretas paid Scaurus to withdraw. Again the protecting desert saved Petra. It is interesting to note a coin struck in honor of this indecisive victory. On it Aretas is represented as kneeling, and the inscription reads REX ARETAS M. SCAUR. AED. EX S. C. The succeeding Roman legates in Syria were constantly at war with the Nabateans. In 55 B.C. Sabinus defeated them. It is not certain who the king of Edom was at the time.

During the confused times of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, and between Antony and Octavius, and Brutus and Cassius, the Nabateans tried to keep on the winning side. In 47 B.C. Malchus I, king of Petra, was called on by Julius Cæsar to send cavalry to him for the Alexandrian war, but it was not sent in time to be of service.

From 41 till 30 B.C. Mark Antony was the virtual ruler of the East. In Palestine Herod, the son of Antipater, had made himself master of the situation. But in the year 40 B.C. Herod was driven out by an invasion of the Parthians, and fled for his life, intending to go to Petra. He counted on the old time friendship which had existed between his family and the Nabatean kings. But Malchus refused to receive him, and Herod went to Rome, where the Senate took steps to restore him to power in Palestine. Malchus later regretted his action toward Herod. The Romans, after defeating the Parthians, exacted a tribute from Malchus for having aided them.

In 32 B.C. Malchus sent auxiliary troops to Antony for the Actean war.[9] Part of the Nabatean territory was given by Antony to Cleopatra. Malchus was remiss in paying his tribute on this territory, and Herod was ordered to punish him. At first Malchus was defeated, but later he gained a decisive victory over Herod. In the year 31 B.C. exaggerated reports of the damage done in Palestine by a terrible earthquake reached the Nabateans. They at once invaded Herod's territory to take advantage of the disaster which had befallen their enemies. With a barbarous disregard for the laws of war, they killed the Jewish envoys who had come to arrange peace. Herod by extraordinary efforts raised an army and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the invading forces of Nabateans. He then proceeded to take over a large part of Malchus' territory. The last that we hear of Malchus is in connection with a plot to restore the aged Hyrcanus to the throne. Malchus promised his assistance, but the plot was discovered and Hyrcanus was executed.

The successor of Malchus was Obodas II (ca. 28-9 B.C.). At this period Petra was quite a prosperous city. Its con-

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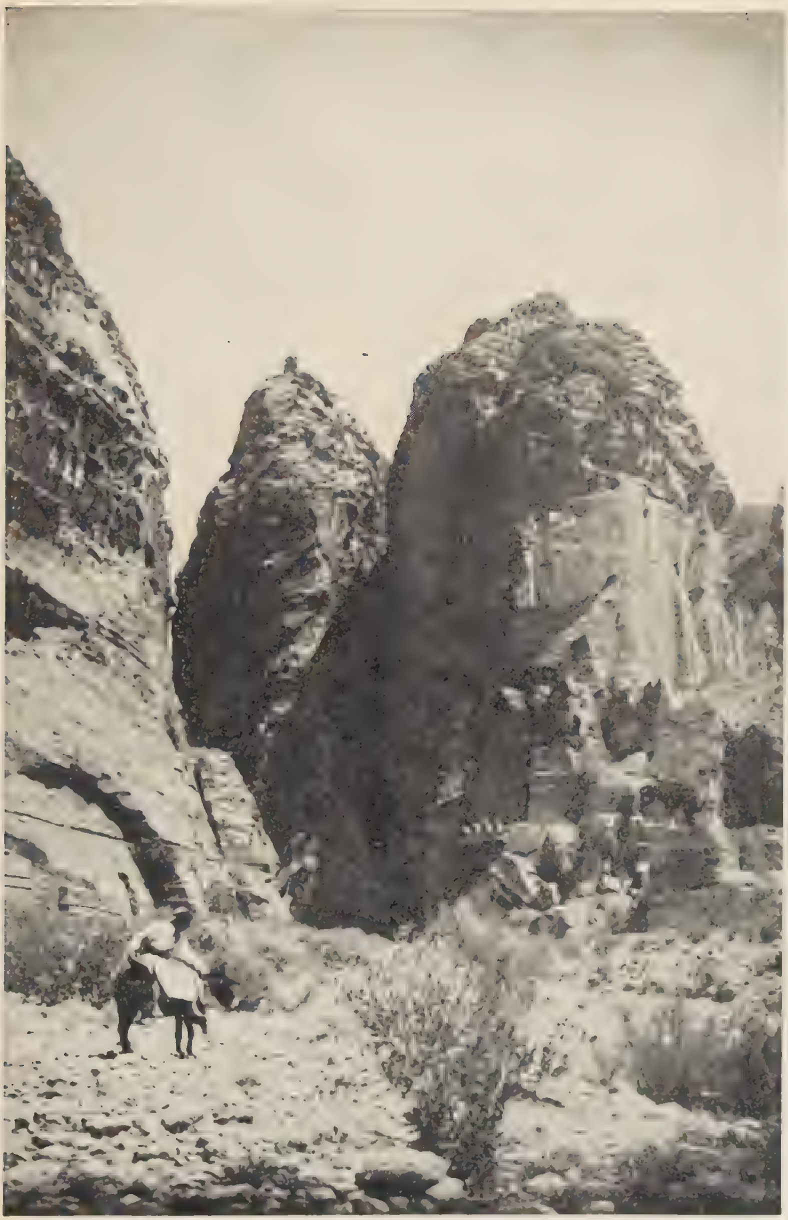
[9] Plutarch, *Anton.*, 61.



(*See Chapter V*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Western entrance to the Sîḳ

stantly growing commerce made it necessary to keep on terms of outward friendliness with the Romans. Obodas was a very weak ruler, and the actual control of affairs was in the hands of a certain Syllæus, an able but unscrupulous man. In the year 25 B.C. Augustus ordered an expedition against the southern Arabs. Syllæus joined the Romans with a thousand Nabatean auxiliaries. Strabo tells how Syllæus' treachery brought the expedition to nothing, for he guided them around the desert by devious routes, and conducted them back to the seacoast only after a large part of the Roman soldiers had perished in the desert.[10]

Some time later, Syllæus wanted to marry Herod's sister, Salome. Herod refused his consent, since Syllæus would not adopt the Jewish religion. Syllæus took revenge by sheltering a number of robbers and revolutionary leaders from Herod's province of Trachonitis. Herod protested, and Syllæus promised redress, but went instead to Rome. Finally, Herod with the consent of the local Roman authorities, invaded Nabatean territory and punished the robbers with his own troops. By exaggerating this affair, Syllæus managed to make the Emperor Augustus angry with Herod. Meanwhile King Obodas died, and a certain Æneas took the throne, changing his name to Aretas IV.[11] This seems to have been a common dynastic name. Syllæus at once tried to persuade Cæsar to depose Aretas in his favor. The Emperor was angry at first that Aretas had dared to take the throne without waiting for the imperial sanction. Ambassadors bringing letters and presents, in which Aretas accused Syllæus of many crimes, including the poisoning of Obodas, were not received. Herod meantime felt keenly the false position in which his treacherous enemy had placed him, so he also sent a representative to Rome. The

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[10] Strabo, xvi, 4, 23.

[11] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvi, 6, 6; 9, 4; *ibid.*, *Wars of the Jews*, i, 24, 6.

Emperor was finally persuaded that Syllæus was guilty of a number of crimes. He was forced to pay Herod, and was then executed. King Aretas was finally allowed to keep the throne, though Augustus had intended to give his territory to Herod.[12]

After Herod's death in 4 B.C., affairs in Judæa were in confusion, and Roman troops were needed to restore order. "Aretas, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favor of the Romans, sent them no small assistance."[13] But the Nabateans were so fierce in their pillage of the Jewish territory that Varus had to send them home.

Although Aretas IV reigned many years (9 B.C.-40 A.D.) and very prosperously, we have no further record of his affairs till late in his life. Herod Antipas, the Tetrarch of Galilee, married a daughter of Aretas. Later he wanted to divorce her in order to marry Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. On hearing of this, Aretas' daughter fled to her father's capital, and Aretas, who had a further quarrel with Herod about some boundaries, immediately declared war on Herod. The Nabateans won a decisive victory, partly through the treachery of Herod's own troops. This was in 36 A.D. The Emperor Tiberius ordered Vitellius, the Roman legate in Syria, to punish Aretas for this war, for it was a settled policy of the Empire to allow no warfare between dependent rulers. Vitellius with two legions had started for Petra when the news of Tiberius' death reached him. He at once gave up the expedition.

It was shortly after this time that Paul's flight from Damascus took place. We have the interesting statement that Damascus was at that time governed by an ethnarch of King Aretas (2 Cor. 11:32). This is our only reference to prove that Damascus was at that time included in the Nabatean territory, but the fact is indirectly confirmed by the absence of any coins of Damascus in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius. It is out of the question that the Nabateans had captured the city from the Romans in war; but it is entirely probable that Caligula gave over the city in order to conciliate Aretas. We have Damascene coins of Tiberius dated 33-34 A.D. and later coins of Nero, dated 62-63 A.D. It was in this interval, or part of it, that Aretas held the city.

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[12] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvii, 3, 2.

[13] *Ibid.*, xvii, 10, 9.

The reign of Aretas IV was a prosperous one. His dominions were widely extended as we know from inscriptions found in Ḥauran in the north and el-Ḥegr in the south. The wide reach of the Nabatean commerce at this period is shown by the two inscriptions that have been discovered at Puteoli, the seaport in Italy at which Paul when a prisoner landed (Acts 28:13), mentioning the name of Aretas. His title is always given as "Lover of his People," showing a feeling of national pride which contrasts with the spirit of the earlier Aretas who styled himself "Philellen."

The successor of Aretas IV was Abias, mentioned by Josephus as king of the Arabians in the time of Claudius. He made war on Izates of Adiabene, across the Euphrates. Abias was defeated and committed suicide in order to avoid capture. This was about 46 A.D. It is rather remarkable that such a distant campaign should have been undertaken, but it is another indication of the wide extent of the Nabatean activity.[14]

Malchus II (ca. 48-71 A.D.) is mentioned only in connection with the Jewish war as having contributed auxiliary troops to Vespasian (ca. 67 A.D.). During his reign Damascus was again taken over by the Romans.

The last independent king of Petra was named Rabel.

[14] Josephus, *Antiq.*, xx, 4, 1.

We know very little about his long reign (71-106 A.D.). Some of the coins bear his mother's name as well as his own, so it has been inferred that he was a minor at the time of his accession. His name appears in an inscription at D'mer, on the road to Palmyra from Damascus, showing that his territory extended pretty far north.

We hear of no king who ruled after Rabel. Trajan broke up the Nabatean nationality in 105 A.D. In 106 A.D. Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, converted the Nabatean Kingdom into a regular Roman Province. In the fourth century the province was divided into Arabia, with Bostra as capital, and Palæstina Tertia, with Petra as capital.

Christianity was apparently introduced into Petra at an early date. We have records, in council reports and in Eusebius and Jerome, of various Bishops of Petra in the early Christian centuries. Several of the great temples in Petra show signs of having been converted into churches.

For a time at least the prosperity of Petra seems to have increased rather than declined under the direct Roman rule. Many of the most magnificent monuments of the city probably date from this period. Petra was first made a metropolis, and later given the rank of a colony.

We have seen that Petra was a natural stronghold; probably also it contained an early sanctuary. But merely as a stronghold, or even as a religious center, it could not have attained the position which it actually held. It was its strategic position commercially which determined that it was to be the capital of a great kingdom and not merely the refuge of a tribe.

The great trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and from the Red Sea and Arabia to Syria and Babylon, all passed through Petra. From the earliest times the Nabateans were interested in commerce. "Not a few of them are accustomed to carry incense and myrrh and valuable spices to the sea coast [of the Mediterranean] having received them from those who brought them from Arabia Felix," says Diodorus. "Some say the best spices are brought from India, and the best incense grows in Persia." Diodorus mentions also a valuable export trade in the bitumen found near the Dead Sea, which was taken to Egypt for use in embalming mummies. Vincent says:

> Caravans in all ages from the interior of Arabia, from Gerrha on the Gulf of Persia, from Harramaut on the Ocean, and some even from Sabea and Yemen, appear to have pointed to Petra as a common center, and from Petra the traffic seems to have again branched out in every direction to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, through Gaza, Tyre, Sidon, Jerusalem, Damascus, and a variety of subordinate routes that all terminated on the Mediterranean.[15]

The Nabateans desired to keep a monopoly on the trade, and resorted to the frank monopolistic tactics of plundering the caravans of others. And when the Alexandrian kings had opened up the trade route by way of the Red Sea and Egypt, the Nabateans showed their hostility to this rival trade channel by attacking shipwrecked crews, and finally, by building ships of their own, they plundered the ships of others. In the end their pirate vessels were captured by Alexandrian warships, the crews were executed, and the sea was made safe for Egyptian commerce. And as a result, a good deal of trade was diverted from Petra through this southern route; and in the second century A.D., the rise of Palmyra as a great commercial city to the north resulted in a marked decline of the commerce of Petra. Still, for a while under Roman rule, the fine system of Roman roads, and the establishment of a strong chain of military posts

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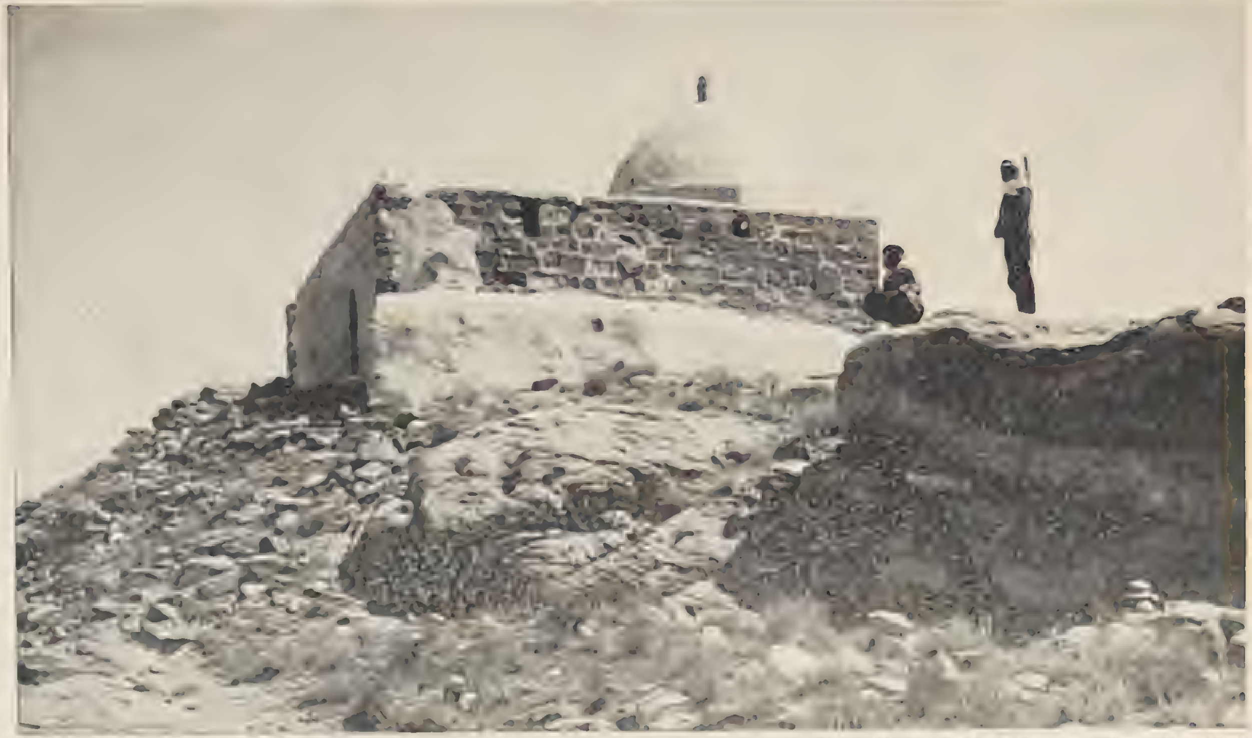
[15] *Rev. bibl.*, vii, pp. 567ff.



(See Chapter XIX)

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Mosque-Tomb of Aaron on Jabal Nabi Harûn for hundreds of miles, north and south along the edge of the desert, made the carrying trade easier and safer. Fragments of these roads remain to-day, with the ruins of the guard stations, to attest that the Romans, whatever their faults, at least gave their subjects an opportunity to develop their resources in peace.

We have seen that the Nabateans were originally of Arab stock, beginning their national career with many of the nomadic characteristics still prominent. But they were rapidly influenced by contact with the more advanced and settled civilizations of Egypt and Syria. Aramaic became the official language. In their architecture, especially, we can see the Egyptian, Greek and Græco-Roman influences as they successively modified the original Nabatean style. Even in matters of religion, we find an identification of certain Nabatean divinities with corresponding Greek gods, and some investigators think that they have detected architectural symbols that point to Isis worship in Petra.[16]

Almost the only source of information about the inner life of the Nabateans is Strabo's *Geography*.[17] From it we learn that the king was always of the same royal family. He chose a sort of prime minister from among his companions who was called his "brother." The king, though keeping up a good deal of state, was democratic in many ways, often serving his guests in person at his banquets, and appearing before the people at times in order to give an account of his administration to them.

Strabo says further:

> The people are governed by good laws. Indeed, the philosopher Athenodorus, my close personal friend, on coming home from a visit to Petra, told me of his surprise at finding many Romans there, and other for-

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[16] Brünnow, *Die Prov. Arabia,* I, p. 191.

[17] Book XVI. See also Appendix VI.

> eigners besides, who were constantly bringing lawsuits against each other, and against the natives, while the inhabitants of the city on the other hand lived at peace with each other.

From inscriptions on tombs we learn that married women could hold and bequeath property. Women must have held quite a prominent place, as they are often represented on coins, and the genealogy in inscriptions is sometimes reckoned partly through the female line.

The inscriptions indicate that a record of deeds of property was kept in some temple at Petra, and the tombs were under the protection of the deities. A fine is specified for the desecration of a tomb.

The Nabateans were regarded as a wealthy people. They were traders and merchants rather than warriors. Strabo says that they were intent on amassing wealth, and that a man's reputation depended on how he managed his property. Yet in their wars the Nabateans seem to have been victorious at least half of the time, and it must have taken no small amount of energy and ability to build up, administer and defend a kingdom which reached from beyond Damascus to the Red Sea.

The Nabateans are particularly interesting as showing the modifying effects of more developed civilizations on a nomad Semitic tribe. At the height of its prosperity Petra was one of the great cities of the world. But commerce was gradually diverted to other trade channels. The period of expansion and elaborate building seems to have come to a sudden close. With Alexander Severus the coinage ends, and probably this period (222-235 A.D.) which saw the rise of the new Persian Kingdom, and the consequent weakening of the Roman hold on the Eastern provinces, saw also the end of Petra's greatness. We have, however, references to Bishops of Petra as late as 534 A.D., and though the town may have suffered some crushing blow earlier, it probably continued to exist, gradually losing in strength and importance, until some unrecorded invasion swept away the last vestiges of the Nabatean civilization. It must have ceased, however, to be of any importance whatever by the time of the Mohammedan invasion in the seventh century, for the Arabian historians of the conquest do not even mention it.

XXIX

THE RELIGION OF THE EDOMITES

Of the primitive religion of the Edomites very little that is definite is really known. What information is at hand shows them to have been idol worshipers. Quite probably, however, their idolatry was acquired rather than indigenous. Esau's marriages, like Solomon's, naturally influenced his religious life (cf. Gen. 26:34, 35; 27:46; 28:9; cf. 1 Kings 11:1-8). Besides, upon removing to Mt. Seir, Esau of necessity would feel obligated to worship the local gods of the land. Being Orientals, there is no doubt but that the whole nation were by nature religious!

The Chronicler gives us the only hint in Scripture of Edom's religious practices and the objects of their worship. He says:

> Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them. Wherefore the anger of Jehovah was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, who said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which have not delivered their own people out of thy hand? (2 Chron. 25:14, 15).

Cheyne unjustifiably accuses the Chronicler here of "forgetting that such an act would be possible only if the Edomites were either the masters, or the allies, of the people of

Judah."[1] On the contrary, such an act was in strict keeping with a policy which prevailed universally in ancient times; for example, Solomon built "a high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, in the mount that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon. And so did he for all his foreign wives, who burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods" (1 Kings 11:7, 8; cf. 2 Kings 16:10-26; 17:29).

It is a very striking fact that nowhere in Scripture (or apart from Scripture) is there any allusion to an Edomite *national* deity corresponding to Chemosh of Moab, Milcom of Ammon, or Jahweh of Israel; and it is equally striking that though the Edomites were not the people of covenant promise, they are favorably differentiated by the Hebrew historian from their heathen neighbors, thus: "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian; because thou wast a sojourner in his land. The children of the third generation that are born unto them shall enter into the assembly of Jehovah" (Deut. 23:7, 8).

That is to say, the Edomites, through assimilation and intermarriage, had full Israelite privileges in the third generation; whereas, Ammon and Moab were forever banned from identification (Deut. 23:3). In other words, the idolatries of Ammon and Moab are regarded by the great lawgiver as permanent stumblingblocks to their admission into the Theocracy of Israel; whereas, there is no warning against Edomite idolatry, base as it may have been, except in subsequent history.

A priori we might assume that Edom's religion would not be very different from that of her neighbors round about. From Petrie's excavations at Serabit al-Khadim we know what the religion of the Sinai Peninsula was in the fifteenth century B.C.[2] An ancient Semitic cultus, older than that of Moses, and more primitive than any other worship known to us in either Syria or Arabia, was practiced by the inhabitants, showing that they had at least the moon-god, Sin, and the goddess Ishtar in their pantheon.[3] By such a worship as that practiced at the sanctuary of Serabit al-Khadim the Edomites must have been influenced. And it is only reasonable to inquire: If the inhabitants of Mt. Sinai in pre-Mosaic times had such a shrine, did their nearest neighbors, the Edomites, have none? The presumption is that they did. And if they had a sanctuary, or sanctuaries, they must have had a god, or gods, as objects of worship.

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[1] *Encyc. Biblica,* I, art., "Amaziah," col. 133.

(*See Chapter XX*)

Jabal Maderah, from the south

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[2] *Researches in Sinai,* 1906, pp. 191, 192.

[3] Cf. the Babylonian name for the moon-god, "Sin," in the name of the mountain "Sinai"; also, in that of "the wilderness of Sin."

Indeed, they may have worshiped a whole pantheon of gods.[4]

Of Edomite deities we know, supposedly, the names of several, among whom are, Ḳaush, Hadad, Edom, Esau, and Ai—all theophorus names. Ḳaush appears, as a deity apparently, in the names of the two Edomite kings, Ḳaush-malak, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser IV in the latter half of the eighth century B.C., signifying, "Ḳaush is King"; and Ḳaush-gabre, meaning "Ḳaush is mighty," who lived about a century later. Nothing is known of the god Ḳaush; but, by some, he is associated with Koze, whom Josephus mentions as an Edomite god.[5] It is better, however, to dissociate Ḳaush from Koze to whose hereditary priesthood the ancestors of the patriot Costobarus are said to have belonged. The latter was an Arabian god, venerated in antiquity by the Arabs in the vicinity of Mecca, after whom the Arabs called the rainbow "the bow of Koze"; Koze being considered by them as the Arabian archer-god, whose bolts are lightnings and his bow the rainbow.[6]

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[4] S. A. Cook (*Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* V., art. "Edomites," p. 164) says: "Although there is no trace in Edom of the deity Sin, the name is familiar both in ancient Arabia and in the Edomite area (the Wilderness of Sin, Mt. Sinai). So also there is no trace of the cult of Ishtar-Astarte; but the male 'Athtar, or 'Attar, is found in Arabia, and is joined with Chemosh in Moab; and Atar-Samain ('Ishtar of the heavens') was venerated by the Kedar tribes in the seventh century. The corresponding "lord of the heavens," found in Palestine and later among the Nabateans, and with an equivalent in ancient Arabia, may also have been familiar in Edom, though perhaps under other more definite names (e.g., Hadad, Ḳaush). Finally, some indirect evidence is afforded by the points of contact between Israelite and old Arabian religion, a noteworthy example of which is the Minæan title *lou,* feminine *loth.* These terms apparently mean 'priest,' 'priestess,' and with Hommel and others may explain the words 'Levi,' 'Levite.' If so, the word probably entered into Israel through the 'Edomitic' connections which the genealogies represent, and it is significant that the Levitical traditions and personal names agree in manifesting a peculiar relationship with South Palestine, Kadesh, and that area which is connected more closely with the Edomites generally than with Israel" (cf. Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition,* 1897).

[5] *Antiquities,* XV, 7, 9; *Contra Apionem,* 2, 10; Ḳaush and Koze are identified by De Vogüe (*Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques,* p. 105), and also by Lagarde (*Symmicta,* i, p. 121); and Neubauer (*Studia Biblica,* i, pp. 224ff.).

Hadad occurs as the name of an Edomite king in Genesis 36:35, and his name may point to the well-known god of storm who was called by the same name. Baal also occurs in the royal name Baal-hanan of Genesis 36:38, meaning, "Baal is gracious." It is also found in later Nabatean inscriptions from Petra. If he is identical with the Baal of western Asia then he probably was regarded as a god of battle.[7] Other theophorus names occur in Edomite lists: for example, Eliphaz and Reuel, but they are too indefinite, and too uncertain, to be reckoned as distinctly Edomitic. The same is true of the proper name Uz.

For "Edom," however, as the name originally of a god, there is some proof. For example, Obed-edom, the Gittite, in whose house the Ark rested three months (2 Sam. 6:10-12), and two Levitical singers and doorkeepers named Obed-edom (1 Chron. 13:14; 15:21, 24; 26:4): all these bore a name signifying "the servant of Edom," presumably the servant of the god Edom; but whether the deity in question is to be identified with the great progenitor and father of the Edomite people is another question. In like manner, the name "Esau" can only plausibly be connected with that of the goddess 'A-si-ti, who is represented on the Egyptian monuments as a wild warlike rider of the desert such as Esau in the book of Genesis is described to have been.[8]

It is quite different, however, with the name "Jahweh." While Hebrew students still disagree as to the origin of the sacred tetragrammaton JHVH, it is quite possible that Esau's descendants as well as Jacob's, worshiped this deity.

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[6] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 302.

[7] So Cooke, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 1908, p. 84.

[8] Gressmann (*Z A T W.*, 1900, p. 22, n.3) has called attention to striking features in Esau which suggest some satyr-like figure.

If they did, it is very probable that they preserved the worship of Jahweh more faithfully than their brethren the children of Israel. Many considerations favor such a conclusion:

(1) Many desert elements, such as the Ishmaelites, Kenites, Seirites, Horites, Caleb, Jerahmeel, and others, were absorbed by the Hebrews during their wanderings in the desert; and were ultimately incorporated among the chosen people of Jahweh; especially by the tribe of Judah, so that the tribe of Judah became, as it were, almost "half-Arab" (cf. 1 Chron. 2 and 4). Yet the assimilation of these foreign elements was not corrupting but salutary.

(2) Doeg, in particular, who was "the chiefest" of Saul's herdsmen was an Edomite; yet, he could worship Jahweh, though he naturally would be supposed to have had distinctive gods of his own. In 1 Samuel 21:7, we read: "Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there that day, detained before Jehovah; and his name was Doeg the Edomite, the chiefest of the herdsmen that belonged to Saul."

This simply means that Doeg, though an Edomite, was probably "detained" in the precincts of the sanctuary and precluded from entering it by some ceremonial impurity (cf. Jer. 36:5; Neh. 6:10).[9] From this we may reasonably conclude that Jahweh's name was at least known, if not worshiped, in Edom.[10]

(3) There are several reasons for thinking that Jahweh was originally the god of Edom's near neighbors, the Kenites, or Midianites. This view was first suggested by Ghillany, writing under the pseudonym of Von der Elm.[11]

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[9] So Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel,* 2nd. edit., p. 175.

[10] Cf. Cook, *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* V, art., "Edomites," pp. 165, 166.

[11] *Theologische Briefe an den Gebildeten der deutschen Nation,* 1862, Vol. I, pp. 216, 480.

It has been supported by many in recent years, especially by Budde.[12] Some of the arguments in favor of a Kenite origin for the worship of Jahweh are as follows: (a) Jahweh was evidently the mountain god of the Kenites at Sinai. Moses probably learned of him from Jethro, his father-in-law, who persuaded the enslaved Israelites of Goshen to trust in this god of the desert, and he delivered them from the bondage of Egypt. This is the oldest known

(*See Chapter XX*)

Jabal Maderah, from the east

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[12] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887), I, pp. 130ff.; Von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten* (1898), p. 17; Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), pp. 17-38; Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1899), pp. 21, 29; Cheyne, *Encyc. Biblica*, art., "Moses" (1902); H. P. Smith, *Old Test. History* (1903), p. 57; and Paton, *Biblical World*, art., "The Origin of Jahweh-worship in Israel" (1906), pp. 113-127.

example of the conversion of a whole people to another god; but through it, Budde urges, Israel's religion became ethical, because it was a religion of choice. (b) In Exodus 18:8-10, Moses tells Jethro all that Jahweh has done for Israel in Egypt, and Jethro says: "Blessed be Jehovah who hath delivered you out of the hand of Pharaoh. Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods," etc. Here we have not merely a recognition of Jahweh, the god of Israel, as greater than his own deity, but an expression of joy that the ancestral god of the Midianites has proved himself so powerful as to conquer even the gods of Egypt. Accordingly, Jethro sacrifices to Jahweh—an act, not of a man who is being converted to the religion of Israel; for, in that case, Moses would have offered the sacrifice and invited Jethro to partake of it as his guest. Rather Jethro himself here offers the sacrifice, because he is the priest of Jahweh, and so invites the elders of Israel into his religion.[13] (c) In Numbers 10:29-32 Moses invites Hobab the son of Reuel the Midianite to accompany Israel through the desert to Canaan; and, according to Judges 1:16, he evidently yielded to Moses' persuasion and went. Hobab was a Kenite (Judg. 1:16; 4:11). (d) In 1 Samuel 27:10 David speaks of the Kenites as though they were a people confederate with Israel; if so, then they must have been worshipers of Jahweh, for such a relation was possible in antiquity only on the basis of a common religion. (e) Again, according to 1 Chronicles 2:55 the Rechabites were a clan of the Kenites, who helped Jehu in purging Israel of the worship of Baal (cf. 2 Kings 10:15-28). Later on, Jeremiah alludes to these same nomadic Kenites, or Rechabites, who had taken refuge in Jerusalem during Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah, and holds them up as an example of fidelity to the worship of Jahweh, and as more worthy

[13] Cf. Paton, *ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

of praise as true worshipers of Israel's covenant God, than the people of Judah (Jer. 35).

Add to all these arguments the fact that Jehovah is repeatedly associated in the Old Testament with Edom, Mt. Seir, Mt. Sinai, Mt. Horeb, and Mt. Paran; in particular, in the three great poems of the Hebrew Scriptures (Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4, 5; Hab. 3:3), and recall that when Elijah's life was threatened by Jezebel, he was, for some reason, impelled to visit Horeb in search of Jahweh (1 Kings 19:8), and it becomes strikingly evident that the home of Jahweh was regarded as being in a very special sense within the Edomite area.

Of course, it is quite another question whether Jehovah was ever revered and worshiped in Edom as the *only* god of the land. This was probably not the case. Indeed, it could hardly be expected that the children of Esau should be more successful in resisting idolatrous influences than the children of Jacob. The Israelites themselves were weak; having lived for generations in the land of Egypt where the religious atmosphere was either sun or animal worship, when they arrived at Mt. Sinai, they naturally made a golden calf; for they faced the necessity of returning to Egypt where the Apis-bull of Memphis was regarded as the incarnation of Ptah, and the Mnevis-bull of Heliopolis was regarded as the incarnation of Ra (Exod. 32). While in Egypt, the Israelites themselves worshiped other gods; for, in Joshua 24:14 we read: "Put away the gods which your fathers served beyond the River and in Egypt; and serve ye Jehovah." Ezekiel openly accuses the ancestors of Israel of having worshiped abominations and idols in Egypt (Ezek. 20:8; 23:3, 8).[14]

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[14] A legend preserved in the *Book of Jubilees* (ch. 12), declares that Abraham was originally not only a worshiper of idols, but an idol manufacturer!

Now, according to Professor Lods of the University of Paris, it is highly improbable that the Hebrews, so long as they led a nomadic existence, worshiped deity by means of idols; the pre-Islamic Arabs did not.[15] During Israel's sojourn in the desert, in fact, strict prohibitions against the use of images in worship were enjoined (Exod. 20:4; 34:17; Deut. 5:8). It was only after the Israelites entered Canaan that they fell into idolatry (Judg. 8:24-27; 17:1ff.; 1 Sam. 19:13-16). In the great sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom at Bethel and Dan they worshiped Jahweh, but in the form of a golden bull (1 Kings 12:28-30; cf. Hos. 8:6). In the Kingdom of Judah a brazen serpent, said to have been made by Moses himself, received the honor of sacrifices till Hezekiah destroyed it (2 Kings 18:4). According to Isaiah the land was "full of idols" (Isa. 2:8); while, according to Ezekiel, "an image of jealousy" was set up in the Temple itself (Ezek. 8:3, 5). At Gezer and at Taanach, also, several statuettes of Astarte have of late been found in heaps of Israelite débris.[16]

And so it must also have been in Edom. The sons of Esau very probably worshiped Jahweh originally, but in process of time they lapsed into idolatry, lured by the subtle temptations of nature and environment; until in Amaziah's day, as we have seen, their images of deity were brought into Judah (2 Chron. 25:14, 15)!

When, therefore, the Edomites were expelled from their mountain home in Mt. Seir (in the sixth century B.C.), they doubtless carried with them a mixed religion. The heathen feast celebrated at Mamre near Hebron is probably an illustration of the persistent character of heathenism, the practices of which in this case were "presumably Idumæan"; [17] or, were "perhaps mainly of Edomite origin." [18] Being indescribably gross and immoral, they were at length suppressed by Constantine.[19] On the other hand, however, it may be safely assumed that the Edomites, or Idumæans, upon entering Southern Palestine were not in moral standards far below the Hebrew remnant with whom they now came into closer contact. True, Josephus tells us, that John Hyrcanus caused them all to be circumcised,[20] but this custom could hardly have been introduced among the Edomites then for the first time (Jer. 9:25, 26; Ezek. 32:29). The Ishmaelites had been circumcised all through their history (Gen. 17:23-27).

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[15] *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* vii, art., "Images and Idols," p. 138; cf. Wellhausen, *Reste des arab. Heidentums,* 1897, p. 102.

[16] Cf. H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente,* 1907, pp. 162-165.

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[17] So Cook, *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* V, art., "Edomites," p. 164.

[18] So Nöldeke, *Encyc. Biblica,* ii, art., "Edom," col. 1188.

[19] Cf. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* ii, 4.

[20] *Antiquities,* xiii, 9, 1.

XXX

THE RELIGION OF THE NABATEANS

When the Nabateans forced their way into the mountain districts of Seir, causing the Edomites to migrate to other parts, they naturally brought with them their own religion. They were strongly religious. Strabo says, "They worship the sun, setting up an altar on the top of the house, pouring out libations and offering incense daily."

Their two chief deities were Dusares, or Du-shara‘, and Allat, or al-Lat; the former being probably the sun-god, the latter possibly the moon-god.[1] Suidas in his *Theos Ares* describes the image of their chief god as a black, rough, rectangular stone, four feet high by two broad, and resting upon a base of beaten gold—a sort of Petræan Ka‘aba! To this, he says, they sacrifice and pour out blood; his temple being rich in gold and decorated with many consecrated gifts.[2] Dusares, we may assume, is best regarded as a sun-god.[3]

Originally, the name Dusares, or Du-shara‘, was probably not an individual proper name but a title, meaning "the lord of Shara‘." This supposition is confirmed by Stephanus of Byzantium, who speaks of a high mountain in Arabia after which the god was named. This accounts for the Nabateans calling themselves Dusarinai. Pococke and Levy, on the basis of Stephen's testimony, accepted the location of the "high mountain" as in Arabia;[4] Dalman, however, suggested a location for it nearer to Petra, designating the region south of Gabalene, which is still known as ash-Shara';[5] while Domaszewski identified it with "the holy mountain of Petra itself."[6] By some ancient authorities, Dusares is styled "lord of the temple who is at Bostra" (in Ḥauran); once he is spoken of as he "who separates the night from the day." To his name in certain inscriptions are affixed the words, "and his mothab," which probably mean, "and his spouse."[7]

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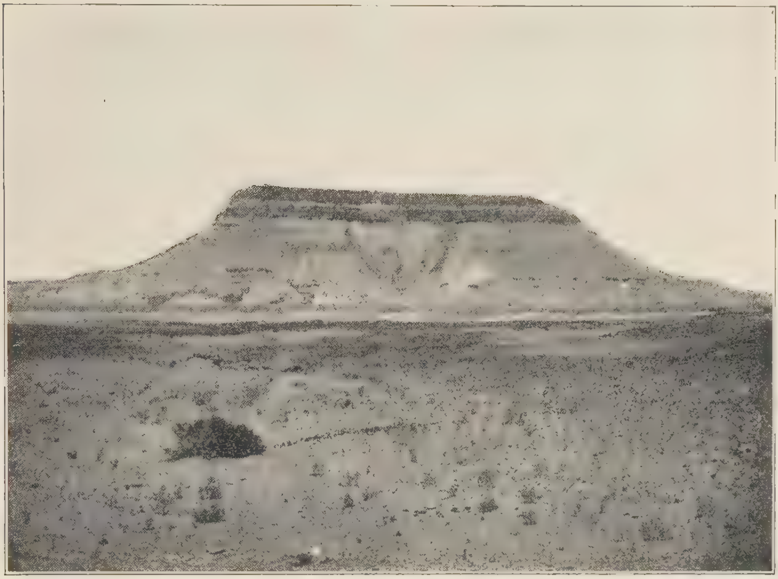
[1] Cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* 1888, p. 101.

[2] Codinus, *De Signis, Ausg. des Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.,* pp. 57f.; cited by Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908, p. 49.

[3] So G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* p. 628; also, S. A. Cook, art., "Nabateans," *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* IX, p. 122; and others.



(*See Chapter XX*)

Jabal Maderah, from the west

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[4] *ZDMG.*, XIV, p. 465.

[5] *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer*, p. 49.

[6] *Die Provincia Arabia*, I, p. 189.

[7] Cf. Cook, *ibid.*, p. 122.

By Greek and Latin writers Dusares was identified with Dionysus-Bacchus; but, as Wellhausen has pointed out, the god of a nomad race of Arabs, living in the desert, could hardly have been worshiped, originally, under the character of Dionysus, for Dionysus was the god of agriculture and settled life. No doubt, however, under the influence of Canaanite and Aramaic civilization, Dusares assimilated in time the attributes of Baal-Dionysus; and if, as there is evidence for believing, Dusares was originally a solar deity, the assimilation is not difficult to imagine.[8] Herodotus identifies Dusares with Orotal;[9] and this identification is confirmed by the fact that in certain ancient authorities we frequently find the names Dusares and Allat mentioned together; while in others, the names Orotal and Allat, the obvious inference being that Dusares and Orotal were but different names for the same deity.

Petra became the center of Dusares-worship. But wherever the Nabateans went they carried their religion with them. When they came into contact with Hellenism in North Syria, religious syncretism took place, as we have seen, between Dusares and Dionysus, and the Nabatean deity was gradually invested with the attributes of the Greek god.[10] An altar at Der'at in Ḥauran shows that the people in the northern portion of Trans-Jordania took part annually in the festival held at Petra on December twenty-fifth, as Epiphanius says, in honor of a virgin (Allat?) and her offspring Dusares.[11] Robertson Smith, therefore, concludes, that the Nabatean worship at Petra was the worship of two deities, namely, an unmarried goddess and her son, each being represented under the form of a block of squared stone.[12] Wellhausen, on the contrary, believed that the Nabateans conceived of Dusares as born from his own betyl, or cippus.[13]

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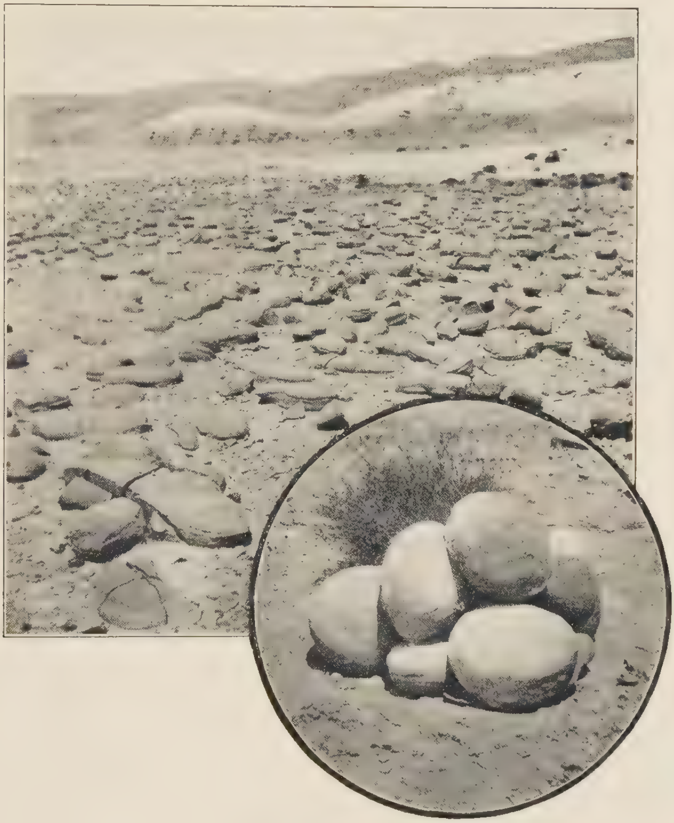
[8] So Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions,* 1903, pp. 218, 219.

[9] Book iii, 8.

[10] Coins have been found at Bostra in Ḥauran, belonging to the 3rd. century A.D., which show a wine press, and bear the legend AKTIA DOUSARIA.

[11] Cf. Mordtmann, *ZDMG,* XXIX, p. 101; and Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* 1888, p. 97; also, Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia,* p. 191.



Cannon ball-like stones at base of Jabal Maderah
(See Chapter XX)

Other inscriptions in Ḥauran point to two deities as sometimes worshiped side by side, namely, "Zeus" and "Fortune"; and Herodotus explicitly states that the worship of Alilat (Allat) is associated with that of a male deity Orotal, who, as we have seen, is to be identified with Dionysus, and therefore with Dusares.[14]

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[12] *Kinship and Marriage,* pp. 299-300.
[13] *Reste des Arab. Heidentums,* p. 50.

The chief goddess of the Nabateans was Allat. She was worshiped by the Arabs, also, as their chief female deity, being mentioned in the Koran along with al-'Uzza and Manâtt. For example, Sura 53:20 reads: "What think ye of Allat, and al-'Uzza, and Manah that other third goddess? They are no other than empty names, which ye and your fathers have named goddesses. God has not revealed concerning them anything to authorize their worship."

Allat is usually regarded as the feminine form of *El;* or perhaps of *Elon.*[15] Herodotus identifies her with Aphrodite. She is repeatedly mentioned in the *graffiti* of Arabia and Mt. Seir, as well as in inscriptions, along with Dusares. It is therefore difficult to think, with Wellhausen, of Dusares as having been born from his own cippus, or image. Rather, the Ka'abu, which Epiphanius represents as the virgin mother of Dusares was only the cippus, or betyl, out of which the god was supposed to have been born; that is, the Ka'abu was intended as the image of the god, not as a distinct deity. At all events there is sufficient evidence for thinking that from the time of Herodotus on, Allat was worshiped in the land of Edom side by side with another deity; many authorities, both ancient and modern, agree that Allat was probably revered as the Virgin-mother goddess, while Dusares was her son.

Allat seems to have been worshiped by the Arabs even more generally than even Dusares. For example, she was the idol of the tribe of Thakif who dwelt at Tayef. When

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[14] Book iii, 8.

[15] Cf. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions,* 1903, p. 158.

Mohammed ordered this idol to be destroyed, the inhabitants of Tayef lamented bitterly the loss of their deity.[16] Tayef is located some sixty miles southeast of Mecca, and was regarded at one time the "hima," or center, of Allat worship. But a temple was consecrated to her also in a place called Nakhlah; and her worship is known to have extended as far north as Palmyra and as far west as the Punic settlements of Carthage, even to Puteoli in Italy. In the bilingual Palmyrene inscriptions, she is identified with Athene; but dissociated, or mentioned separately, from "Shamash" their sun-god; so that it is impossible to regard her as a sun-goddess.

Other Nabatean deities are mentioned in Nabatean inscriptions: notably, Manuthu, Kaisha, Hobal, and ʻAra; but little of a definite nature is known of these. Hobal, however, is said to have been an old Arab deity; indeed, the chief god of the sacred Kaʻaba at Mecca.

What the ritual of the Nabateans was is likewise a mystery. Whether they offered burnt sacrifices, or offered animal sacrifices at all, is unknown, but a religion in which bloody sacrifices formed a conspicuous part may, on the basis of Semitic analogy, be safely assumed. If so, then, judging from the common ritual of idol-worshipers as practiced in ancient times, they consulted idol-oracles (2 Sam. 16:23), built houses to receive their images (Judg. 17:5), kissed the images (Hos. 13:2; 1 Kings 19:18), offered incense before them (Ezek. 8:11), clothed them in broidered garments (Ezek. 16:18; Jer. 10:9), presented them with food (Ecclus. 30:18), embraced, anointed, washed, and sprinkled them with water, decorated them with jewels and garlands, and bowed down to them; fixing them in their places with nails (Isa. 41:7; Jer. 10:4), or with chains

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[16] So George Sale, in the introduction to his English translation of the Koran, p. 14.

(Isa. 40:19), and burning candles before them (Epistle of Jeremiah 19).

From the large number of triclinia which accompany the numerous sanctuaries—high places, mortuary chapels, and altars—of Petra, feasting must have constituted a very large part of their ritual. Their annual and other occasional festivals were probably both funereal and religious in character; but nevertheless excessively corrupt. Bar-hebræus, commenting on Psalm 12:8, describes the obscenity of the Nabatean feasts, saying that in them the women were accustomed to make a sevenfold circuit, as at Arabian shrines, round an image of Beltis, or Aphrodite, on the top of some mountain, and then practice promiscuous uncleanness.[17]

Circumcision, also, was doubtless practiced by the Nabateans; for the custom to circumcise was universal among the Semites of antiquity. Originally, it was probably intended as a sacrifice, or as a mark of consecration, to the goddess of fertility, being designed to secure her favor in the production of offspring.[18] The age at which circumcision was practiced probably varied. According to Doughty, certain present-day Arabs circumcise a man as he takes a wife; the act being performed in the presence of the maiden whom he is to marry; if he shrinks from the ordeal, or utters a sigh, she disdains him.[19] Josephus, writing about 90 A.D., records that in his time Arab boys were circumcised at thirteen years of age, as Ishmael was (Gen. 17:25); but that Jewish boys were circumcised when eight days old, as Isaac was (Gen. 21:4).[20] In modern Arabia, including Edom,

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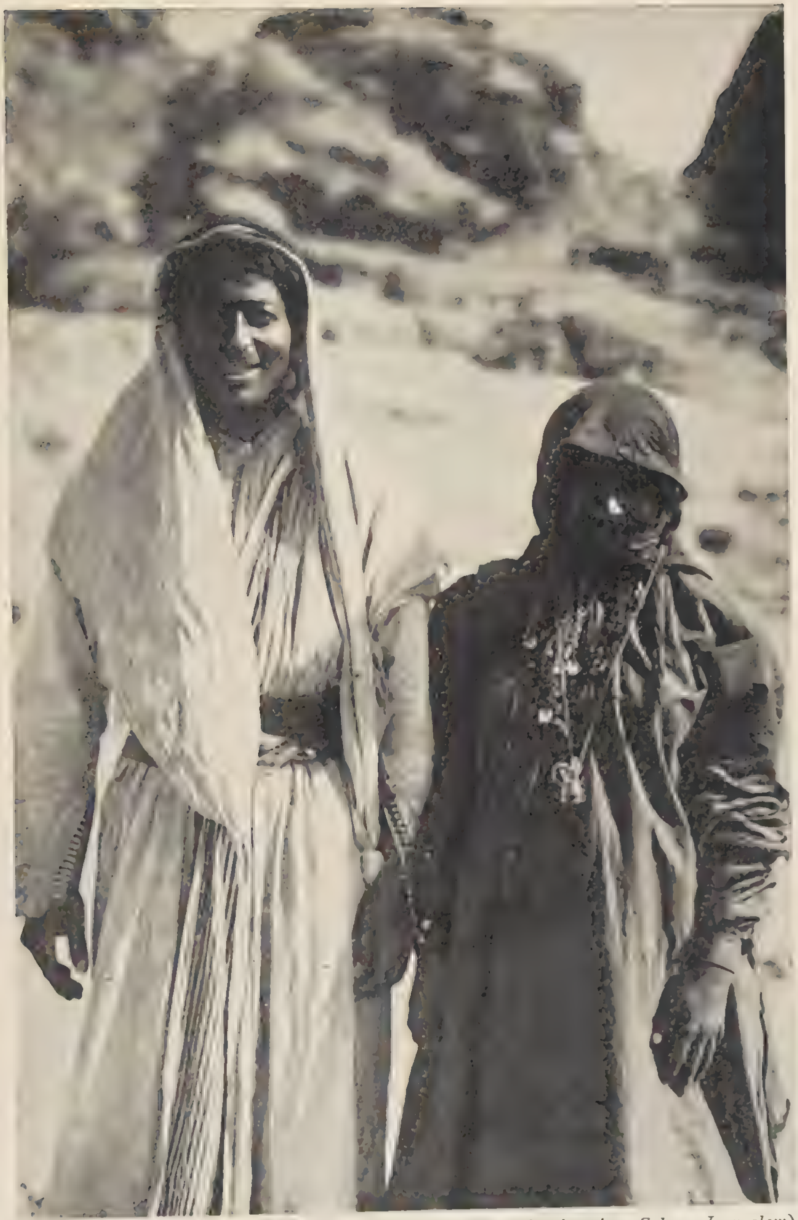
[17] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage,* p. 301.

[18] Cf. G. A. Barton, art., "Circumcision," *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics,* iii, pp. 679-680.

[19] *Arabia Deserta,* I, p. 128; cf. Zipporah's reproachful retort to Moses in Exod. 4:25, 26: "Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me because of the circumcision"; meaning, that he ought to have been circumcised at the time of their marriage.

[20] *Antiquities,* I, 12, 2.



(See Chapter XXI) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Daif-Allah, and a young woman of Petra

Bedouin boys are usually circumcised when quite young: in the Negd when three, in Edom at four or five. Jaussen reports that the custom of circumcising females, also, is still practiced among some of the Arabs in these parts, usually at the time of approaching marriage.[21]

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[21] *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab,* p. 35.

XXXI

THE BACKGROUND OF THE BOOK OF JOB

To Edom belongs the glory of having furnished both the personnel and local coloring of the greatest poem in the Old Testament, the Book of Job. The hero of this great masterpiece was a foreigner, is described as a saint, and is said to have lived "in the land of Uz," which was probably somewhere, either in, or near Edom, on the borders of the great Arabian desert.

The *author* of the book, however, was no foreigner, but a gifted Jew, who had traveled widely and was familiar with all types of life, both civilized and nomadic. Though he knew the desert and understood Bedouin conditions perfectly, he was nevertheless a true Jew, with a Jew's passion for righteousness and a lofty conception of the supremacy of Jehovah. "The opinion that once prevailed,[1] that the book was of Arabic origin, or, at least, not of Israelite extraction, is now altogether obsolete. The work has every mark of a genuine Jewish authorship." [2]

What the author's purpose was in giving his dramatic poem a setting outside of Israel, and especially in designating "the land of Uz" as its scenic background is difficult to say, but it may be safely assumed that Edom's reputation for "wisdom" had much to do with it (cf. Obad. 8; Jer. 49:7; Baruch 3:23). The Book of Job is a book of Wisdom. Hebrew sages were ever in friendly rivalry with the sages of the nations. For example, Solomon's superlative wisdom is enhanced by the historian's comparison of him with the sages whose names have Edomitic connections, in particular with Ethan, the Ezrahite, and the other clever sons of Zerah, all members of an Edomite clan affiliated with Judah (1 Kings 4:30, 31; cf. 1 Chron. 2:6). King Lemuel in Proverbs 31:1, and probably Agur in Proverbs 30:1 were also non-Jewish, as well as the three friends of Job himself. Of course there is no *a priori* reason why the thought of the book should be regarded as exclusively Israelite!

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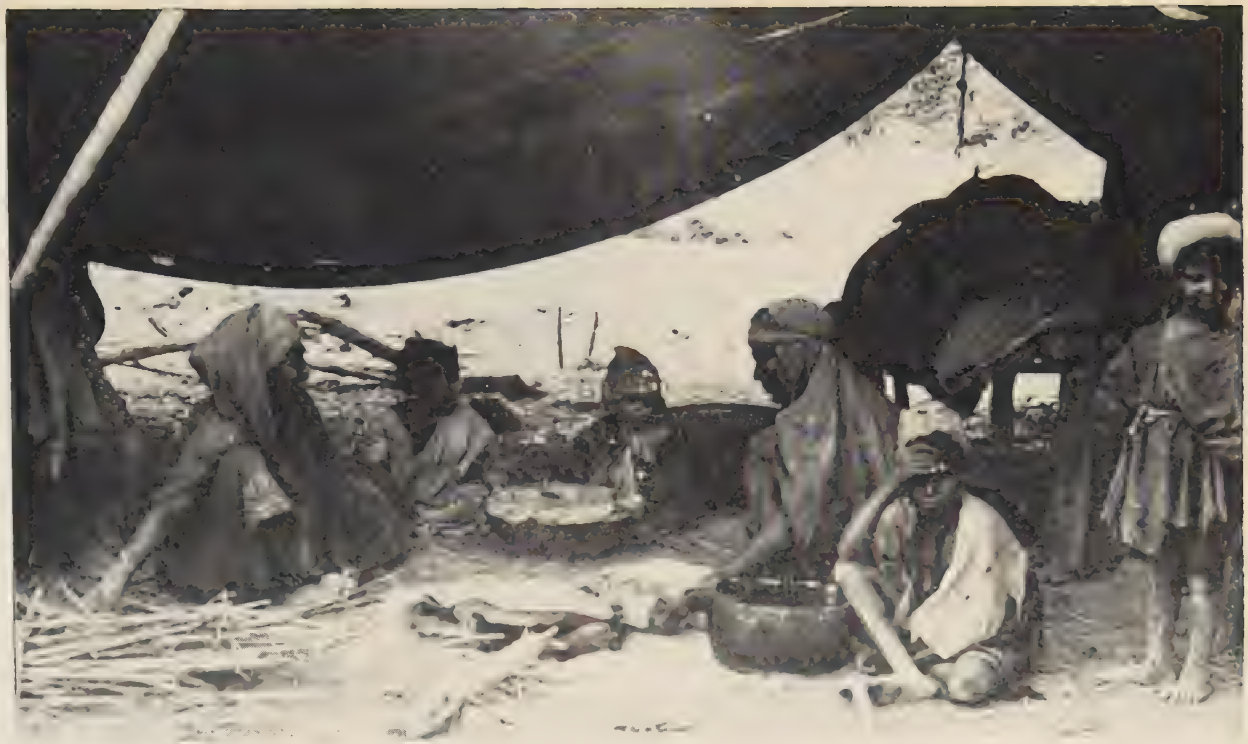
[1] Advocated by D. S. Margoliouth, *Expositor* (1900), I, pp. 431-435; II, pp. 25ff.

[2] Cf. A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1904), p. 466.

Different views prevail, however, as to the exact local coloring of the book. A few years ago it was supposed by some that the original roots of the drama had been discovered in an ancient Babylonian legend, which is dated presumably about 2000 B.C. In the treasure-trove of Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh, certain tablets were found, on which was inscribed a poem in Babylonian telling of a mysterious affliction which overtook a righteous official at Nippur, named Tabu-utul-Bel. The hero of the tale may have been one of the antediluvian kings of Babylonia. A commentary on the text accompanied the story. The story itself is marked by certain striking similarities to the Book of Job. For example, there is one long, solemn, unbroken monologue (cf. Job 29-31), in which the hero declares he is going "to praise the god of wisdom." Its aim is obviously to glorify Merodach as a healer and savior, and to attract sufferers to his temple in the hope of deliverance. It is said to have been copied from originals in E-sag-ila, the great temple of Bel-Merodach. The fact that a commentary accompanies it would indicate high antiquity for the story itself.

Among the many resemblances between it and the Book of Job are: (1) the fact that Tabu-utul-Bel, like the patriarch Job, was a very righteous man; even religious and



(See Chapter XXI)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

A family of modern Edomites camping in Petra possessed of ethical virtues. (2) Both were smitten with a sore disease. (3) To both the divine providence was inexplicable. (4) Both accuse deity of injustice. But the dissimilarities between them are far more striking: (1)

> All those essential points that give the Job story its distinctive character and tendency—the plot in Heaven, the dramatic report of Job's sudden material ruin and the loss of his children, followed by Job's expression of pious surrender to God, Job's temptation by his wife, and finally the silent visit of the friends and their ensuing condemnation by God.[3]

(2) But especially, the fact that the Hebrew patriarch gained relief by a vision of God which enabled him to leave the solution of his mysterious sufferings with God (Job 42:4-6); whereas, Tabu-utul-Bel, on the other hand, gained his relief through a magician, who drove away the evil spirits which caused the disease. Hence, between the outlook of the poet who composed Job, and that of the Babylonian poet, there is all the difference between a real experience of God and faith in the black art.[4] In short, the two stories, both in contents and form, have nothing whatever in common with each other.[5]

Another theory concerning the origin of the Book of Job is that Egypt gave it birth. The "watermarks" throughout it are so repeatedly and emphatically Egyptian that it is assigned by some to a Jew who had long resided in Egypt and wrote it there.[6] The most elaborate defense of this theory is that of Knight, who sums up his long argument as follows:

[3] Buttenwieser, *The Book of Job* (1922), p. 10.

[4] G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible* (1916), pp. 392-397.

[5] Landersdorfer, *Eine Babylonische Quelle für das Buch Job?* (1911).

[6] Schlottmann, *Das Buch Hiob verdeutscht und erlaütert* (1851); Hirzel, *Hiob erklärt* (Eng. translation, *Job Explained,* 1852); Hitzig, *Das Buch Hiob* (1874); G. A. Frank Knight, *Nile and Jordan* (1921), pp. 379-405.

> I believe, therefore, that this poem (Job) was composed by some gifted Hebrew who had long dwelt in, and had far travelled through, the Nile Valley. He had gone up the river as far as Thebes, and possibly even to Nubia. He had seen the gold mines of the Wâdi Ḥammamat between Coptos and Kosseir: he had read the inscriptions in many of the ancient tombs. He had explored Sinai and knew the turquoise mines there. He was a man versed in mythology, folklore, and the demotic beliefs of the country people.

Yet, it should be remembered that Knight freely admits, "from the XIIth to the XXth Dynasties, Edom was reckoned as an integral part of the Egyptian Kingdom."[7] When all his arguments, therefore, are correctly weighed, nearly all of them can reasonably be explained in terms of either immediate knowledge of Edom, or, of general information concerning Egypt.

Arab tradition points in still another direction, that of Ḥauran. Both Christian tradition since the fourth century A.D., and current Moslem tradition, unite in designating a placed called Dair Ayyub, some forty miles south-southwest of Damascus, near Tell 'Ashtârah, as the dwelling place of Job. "Job's Stone," discovered many years ago by Schumacher,[8] is there, on which Rameses II is depicted as worshiping a divinity whose crown, horn, and Semitic title indicate that it represents some native Canaanite deity for whom the conqueror evidently felt some reverence. The stone is a monolith of basalt against which the patriarch is said to have leaned in his misery. Still other objects and places associated with the aged patriarch are reverently pointed out by the Arabs: for example, at the foot of the hill near by, where the city of Uz is said to have been built, a fountain called "Job's Spring" gushes forth, whose waters feed "Job's Bath," and are reckoned to have medicinal properties. Near-by, also, until recently, stood "Job's Monastery" (whence the Arabic name "Dair Ayyub"), and a little to the south is "Job's Tomb." But all these particulars are mere Arab traditions, which too often are based on pure Arab imagination, and are accordingly utterly untrustworthy.[9]

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[7] Knight, *ibid.*, p. 380.

[8] *Across the Jordan*, p. 189.

To us it seems more probable that the scenery and atmosphere of the Book of Job were Edomitic; and that the true coloring and background of the drama are apparently neither as near to Canaan as Ḥauran, nor as remote as either Babylon or Egypt. We shall do well, therefore, to follow the intimation in the opening sentence of the Prologue itself, and look for "the land of Uz" in or near the land of Edom.

The author of the Book of Job introduces his hero as a native of Uz (Job 1:1). According to Gregory the Great, "Uz was a land of the Gentiles"; but this does not go far in defining its geographical location. To Musil, Uz was the name of a district, which was situated almost beyond question southeast of Palestine, in, or in the neighborhood of, Edom. He says, "As we seek Job's homeland, the district of Uz, it is southeast of the Dead Sea; and the *Bene Ḳedem* ("the children of the east," Job 1:3) whom Job excelled, must likewise have camped southeast of the Dead Sea and east of Edom.[10]

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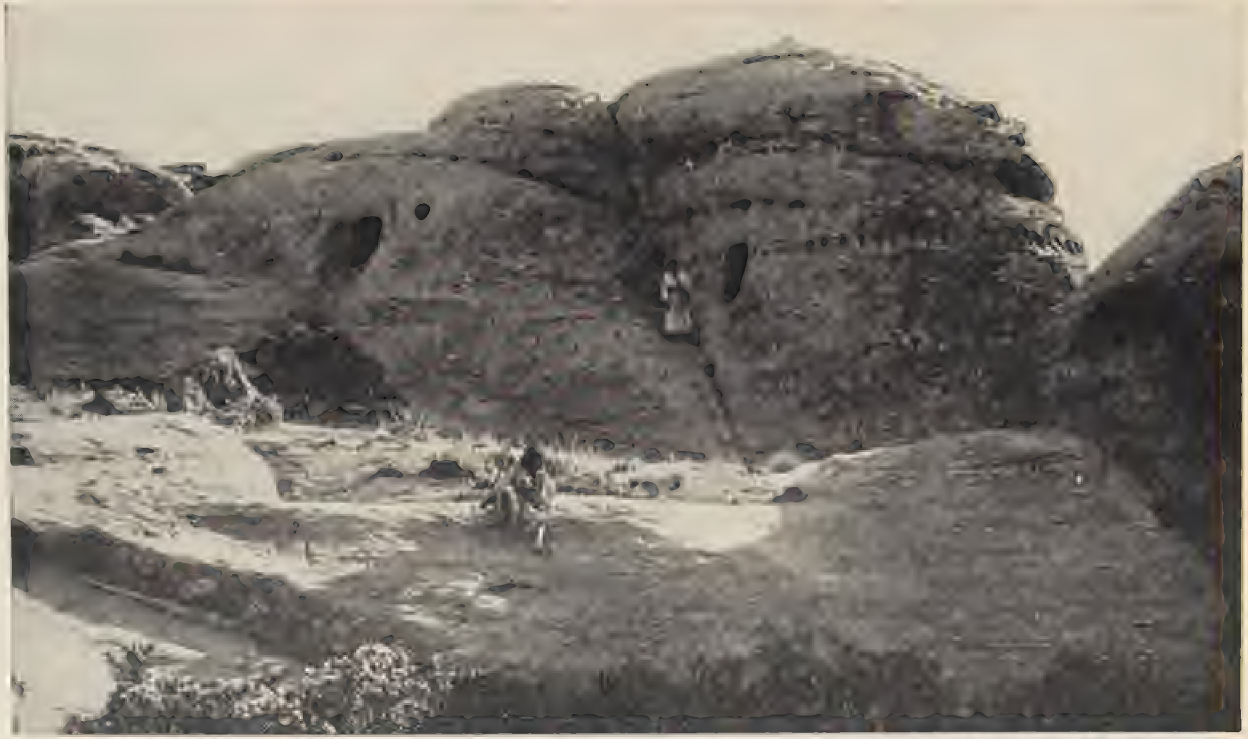
[9] Dhorme (*Revue Biblique,* 1911, pp. 301ff.) explains these traditions as due to a series of confusions; cf. Driver and Gray, *Int. Crit. Comm.,* "Job," 1921, p. xxx. Yet, Josephus credits Uz with having founded Trachonitis and Damascus (*Antiq.,* I, 6, 4). At best all these traditions are but local.

[10] *Arabia Deserta,* 1927, p. 496; cf. Dhorme, *Le pays de Job,* 1911. The Septuagint reads, instead of "in the land of Uz" (Job 1:1), "in the land of Ausitis"; and in certain additions appended at the close of the book, further describes it as "on the borders of Edom and Arabia." By some the references in Job. 1:15, 17 to the "Sabeans" and "Chaldeans" are invoked in determining Job's home; Dhorme, however (*Revue Biblique,* 1911, p. 105), concludes that *"nous sommes amenés au nord-ouest de l'Arabie quelque part*



(See Chapter XXIII)

(Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Troglodyte habitations in Bâb as-Sîḳ

There is sufficient and convincing proof that Musil is correct as to its location; for example, (1) in Genesis 36:28f. (a geographico-ethnological section, which describes the Horites as the aborigines of Edom), the name Uz occurs as that of a person, who is stated to be a grandson of Seir the Horite. While the value of this reference is not explicit, or alone conclusive, it does connect Uz with Edom. (2) In Lamentations 4:21, Uz is even more decisively connected with Edom. The passage reads, "Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz." Here, "the land of Uz" stands in direct and unequivocal parallelism with Edom.[11] (3) in Jeremiah 25:20, 21, "the land of Uz" is mentioned in close connection with Edom, though separate from it; suggesting that while Edom and "the land of Uz" are not to be identified as one and the same country, yet they are spoken of as though situated side by side in close juxtaposition.

Only one passage in the entire Old Testament seems to antagonize the supposition that the patriarch was a native of Edom. In Genesis 10:23 Uz is spoken of as a son of Aram, which naturally suggests that the land of Uz should be sought in Naharina, or Mesopotamia. Yet, in Genesis 22:21, apparently the same Uz is stated to be the brother of Buz, who in Jeremiah 25:23 is associated with the distinctively Arabian cities, Dedan and Tema. Now, Tema and Dedan are according to Isaiah 21:13, 14, Arabian tribes: Tema is mentioned along with Sheba in Job 6:19, and Sheba along with Dedan in Genesis 10:7. And in both Jeremiah 49:8 and Ezekiel 25:12, 13, Dedan is closely

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au sud de Ma'ân," i.e., the allusions to the Sabeans and Chaldeans brings us to the frontiers of Edom.

[11] The fact that the Septuagint Version omits the word "Uz" from this passage (Lam. 4:21) does not weaken this statement, for its omission leaves, as Driver and Gray observe, "an unsatisfactory phrase and an improbable text" (*ibid.,* p. xxviii)!

connected with Edom. Southeast of Edom some two hundred and fifty miles, there is said to be a place called Teima, with which the tribe of Tema was probably associated.

When all the evidence is gathered, and properly weighed, therefore, the location of Uz as either in, or near, Edom is all but an assured fact. One of the best witnesses remaining to be mentioned is the Greek version of Theodotion, dating from about 175 A.D. It appends four notes to Job 42:17, one of which is to the effect that Job "dwelt in the land of Uz on the borders of Idumæa and Arabia, and his name was formerly Jobab who was a king of Edom (Gen. 36:33).[12] Theodotion's witness is valuable because of its great antiquity. Not long ago the celebrated archæologist, Musil, identified Uz with an ancient ruin named "Khirbet al-'Is," situated in Edom north of Petra, not far northeast of Tafîla, in approximately the same locality as that in which Eusebius located Ausitis, or Uz,[13] Aristeas, also, places the district of Ausitis in the mountains of Idumæa and Arabia, i.e., in eastern Edom, southeast of the Dead Sea.[14] With Ball, therefore, we may conclude that though "the exact locality is unknown; yet, the Biblical data seem to require a situation eastward of Palestine, and not remote from the northeastern border of Edom." [15]

Job is further described as "the greatest of all the children of the east." Now the children of the East were the so-called "Bene Ḳedem," or pastoral tribes of Arab and Aramæan stock who lived east, northeast and southeast of Palestine. What the author accordingly meant to convey was, that Job was the wealthiest and therefore the most powerful Emir, or Shaikh, of all the tribes on the eastern borderland of Palestine.

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[12] Cf. Jastrow, *The Book of Job* (1920), pp. 368, 369; cf. also Skinner, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, "Genesis," p. 435; and Driver and Gray, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, "Job," I, p. lxxiii.

[13] *Arabia Petræa* (1907), ii, p. 337; cf. Eusebius, *Onomastica sacra*, de Lagarde's edition (1887), p. 337.

[14] Cf. Alexander Polyhistor, *Fragmenta*, p. 220; cited by Musil.

[15] *The Book of Job* (1922), p. 95.

While the Old Testament never identifies the roaming desert Arabs with the Bene Ḳedem, yet they were almost certainly, like them, semi-nomadic Arabs; the term "Arab" denoting all those who live under tents of black goats' hair, i.e., all those who wander from place to place for pasture, regardless of the location of their camps or of their occupations. Those, however, who raise camels and dwell in the inner desert are called Bedouin or "Sherḳîyyeh." This latter word is derived from "sherḳ," a term applied to the central portion of the desert of Arabia.[16]

The Bene Ḳedem are known from various references in the Old Testament to have dwelt east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea: e.g., in Judges 6:3, they are described as crossing the Jordan, with the Midianites and the Amalekites as allies; in Judges 6:33, as encamped in the valley of Jezreel, and in Judges 7:12 as possessing many camels. When routed by Gideon they fled from Palestine across the Jordan, and did not rest until they reached Karkor (Judges 8:10), which Musil locates "in the depression of Sirḥan one hundred and eighty kilometers southeast of Amman." Their flight, accordingly, was obviously the flight of Bedouins! In Jeremiah 49:29-33, the prophet denounces "the children of the east" who dwell in Kedar, and demands that the soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar march out against them, though a tranquil people who lived in seclusion and ease, having "neither gates nor bars," and promises them as booty their camels, their cattle and other possessions. These all were obviously Bedouin! According to Ezekiel 25:4, "the children of the east" were to invade Ammon and take possession of their land, pitching their tents and seizing their possessions as spoil, in true Bedouin fashion![17]

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[16] From this same root is also derived the classical name *Sharaḳenoi,* or Saracens (Easterners).

Now Job is described as the most powerful of all these Bene Ḳedem, and therefore, as residing in the regions where Bedouin live; quite probably, as Musil has advocated, "southeast of the Dead Sea and east of Edom."[18]

Once only in Isaiah 11:14f., the Bene Ḳedem are located between the Philistines and the Edomites, i.e., in the eastern half of the Sinai Peninsula. This places them actually within the borders of the land of Edom which evidently stretched west as well as east from the 'Arabah. This location is confirmed by the Egyptian story of the unfortunate noble, Sinuhe, who fled into Syria (ca. 2000 B.C.) on the death of Amenhemhet I, which says that he passed out of Egypt into the desert and journeyed from place to place until he arrived at Ḳedem, whence he was invited into Palestine.[19]

From all these considerations it seems almost necessary to conclude that Job is conceived by the author of the book as living in or near the land of Edom.

The proper names of the book are still more conclusive of its Edomitic coloring: for example, the name Job is a personal name of foreign origin (cf. Ezek. 14:14, 20), occurring in the lists of Hammurabi's period. It was quite probably an Arabic name.[20] Ewald suggests an Arabic derivation 'awwab, "penitent," strictly, "one who frequently returns" (to God from his sins).[21] This derivation seems preferable to that which interprets his name to mean an "object of persecution."

Job's friends were all Edomites. Eliphaz, the Temanite, who was the foremost sage among them (Job 2:11), according to Genesis 36:4, appears as a "son" of Esau, i.e., as a tribal division or clan of Edom; while Teman is reckoned as a "son," or sept, of Eliphaz (Gen. 36:11). Quite evidently, therefore, this celebrated senior friend of the patriarch was an Edomite. There is no reason whatever for thinking that his name was coined for the mere purposes of the story. Both these names, Eliphaz and Teman, are decidedly Edomitic. The Temanites were famous for their wisdom (Jer. 49:7).[22]

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[17] *Arabia Deserta* (1927), pp. 494, 495.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 496.

[19] Cf. W. Max Mueller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 46; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 493; *History of Egypt*, pp. 188, 203.

[20] Cf. C. J. Ball, *The Book of Job*, pp. 9, 95.

[21] In the 38th Sura of the Koran, David, Solomon, and Ayyub (Job) are all thus described.

Bildad the Shuhite belonged to the tribe of Shuah, which descended from Abraham through Keturah, and dwelt somewhere to the east of Palestine (Gen. 25:2, 6). The name Bildad is quite possibly related to that of the storm god, Hadad. It has been identified with Bîr-Dadda, an Arab chief mentioned by Ashurbanipal, the "Bîr" representing the Aramaic Baal, or Lord. Hence Bildad would signify "Lord of Dad." Now Hadad was a king of Edom (Gen. 36:35), and a son Bedad "certainly looks like Bildad with the *l* accidentally omitted." [23]

Zophar the Naamathite is not so easily located. If the Hebrew text is correct, then he came apparently from Naamah, a small town near Maḳḳedah on the Plain of Sharon (Josh. 15:41); whereas, the other friends all came from the desert border, in, or near, Edom, east or southeast of Palestine. But as Cheyne well observes, "the poet must have reckoned Zophar also as an Edomite"; even if he came from southwest Judah, "the clan that settled there was doubtless of Calebite and therefore of Edomite extraction" (cf. "Naam," 1 Chron. 4:15).[24] But the Septuagint gives us a different text. In every case where Zophar is

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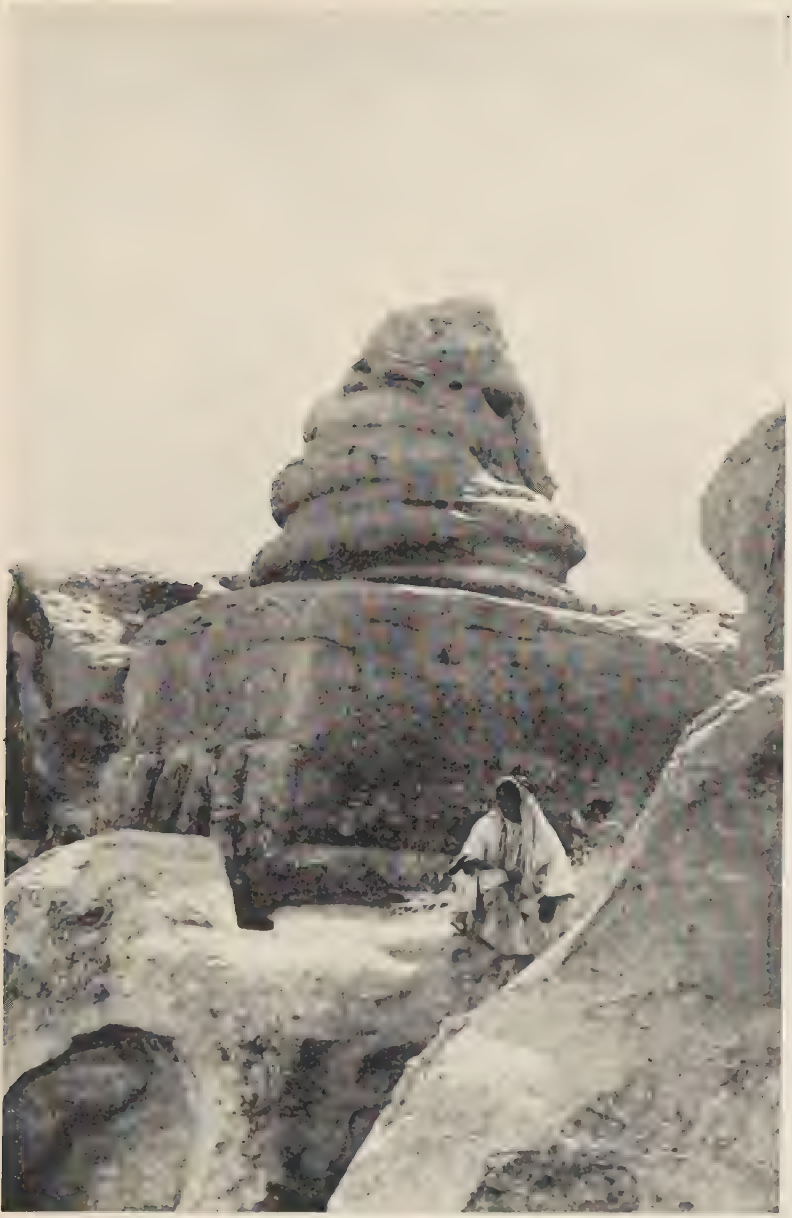
[22] According to Jastrow (*The Book of Job,* p. 204), "Tema is in northern Arabia and may have been reckoned as part of Edom."

[23] C. J. Ball, *The Book of Job,* p. 118.

[24] *Encyc. Biblica,* art. "Zophar," col. 5427.



(*See Chapter XXIX*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Tomb of the Snake

mentioned, it reads, "Zophar the king of the "Minæans" (Job 11:1; 20:1; 42:9). From this Hommel has cleverly conjectured that Zophar came from the south Arabian district of Ma'ân.[25] Moreover, in Genesis 36:11, 15 the Septuagint reads Zophar for "Zepho," as the third son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau. If the Septuagint be the true reading, then Zophar, also, will have been an Edomite.[26]

Elihu is introduced as "the son of Barachel the Buzite, of the family of Ram" (Job 32:2). Buz was the brother of Uz (Gen. 22:21), and the son of Nahor; yet Jeremiah mentions him along with Dedan and Tema (Jer. 25:23). Ram, therefore, is not to be identified with Aram; for, according to 1 Chronicles 2:9, 25, also, Ram was the brother, or son, of Jerahmeel. Besides, the Septuagint introduces him as "of the land of Uz" (Job 32:2); and inasmuch as the Hebrew text describes him as "the brother of Uz," Elihu becomes more closely akin to Job than any other one of his friends.[27]

Certain other allusions, however, in the text of the Book of Job, have been pressed as proofs that the author must have written the drama in either Egypt or Babylonia. For example, in chapter 29:18, Job describes himself as reflecting on life and saying, "I shall multiply my days as the sand." Knight translates this passage, however, "I shall multiply my days as the phoenix-bird"; making it refer to the famous mythical bird which was revered at Heliopolis and elsewhere in Egypt.[28] But, it is far more likely that the author here refers to some long-lived tree, or to the sand whose separate grains cannot be counted. The Septuagint translates, "My age shall continue as the stem of a palm tree." There is, therefore, nothing definitely Egyptian about the passage. The same is true of Job 3:14, which reads, "With kings and counsellors of the earth, who built up waste places for themselves." Knight sees in the "waste places" here a direct reference to the "pyramids" of Egypt.[29] But the emendation of the text necessary to obtain this interpretation is "highly precarious," as Ball declares. The Hebrew term used here occurs elsewhere in the sense of "waste places" (Isa. 58:12; 61:4; Ezek. 36:10, 33; Mal. 1:4). Ancient kings in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as in Egypt, gloried over the numerous crumbling temples, and palaces, and decayed cities which they restored. This passage, accordingly, throws no certain light on the Egyptian origin of the drama.

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[25] *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 240, 252.

[26] Cf. C. J. Ball, *The Book of Job*, p. 118.

[27] Musil locates Buz, or Bazu, in the northern half of the depression of Sirḥan, which lies adjacent to Edom on the northeast (*Arabia Deserta*, 1927, p. 484).

[28] *Nile and Jordan*, p. 397.

Even the references in chapters 40:15 and 41:1 to the two colossal beasts known in Upper Egypt and in the Sudan as the "hippopotamus" and the "crocodile," do not necessitate an Egyptian origin for the book. Crocodiles have been seen at different times in Palestine. Pliny speaks of the *Nahr az-Zarḳa* (lit. "the blue river") which flows across the Plain of Sharon north of Joppa as "the Crocodile River."[30] Besides, the Hebrew words for these beasts bear no resemblance to the Egyptian names. One wonders why Egyptian terms to express them were not employed. In fact, there are no Egyptian equivalents to the Hebrew expressions, and the Hebrew words remain still an enigma to expositors. The Hebrew word for "Hippo" is "the monster-beast," or "the super-cow." Many, accordingly, as Gunkel, Zimmern, Cheyne and Toy, treat these animals as mythological monsters; not as real.

From all this, accordingly, it seems to us quite impossible to claim the Book of Job as of Egyptian origin. More probably it is Edomitic.

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[29] *Nile and Jordan,* p. 386.

[30] Cf. Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria,* p. 237.

XXXII

EDOM IN PROPHECY

ISRAEL'S neighbors, as well as the Israelites themselves, were often the objects of terrible woes; Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Tyre, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia and Edom being among those specifically and repeatedly denounced by Old Testament prophets for some particular misdemeanor or flagrant and unpardonable transgression.

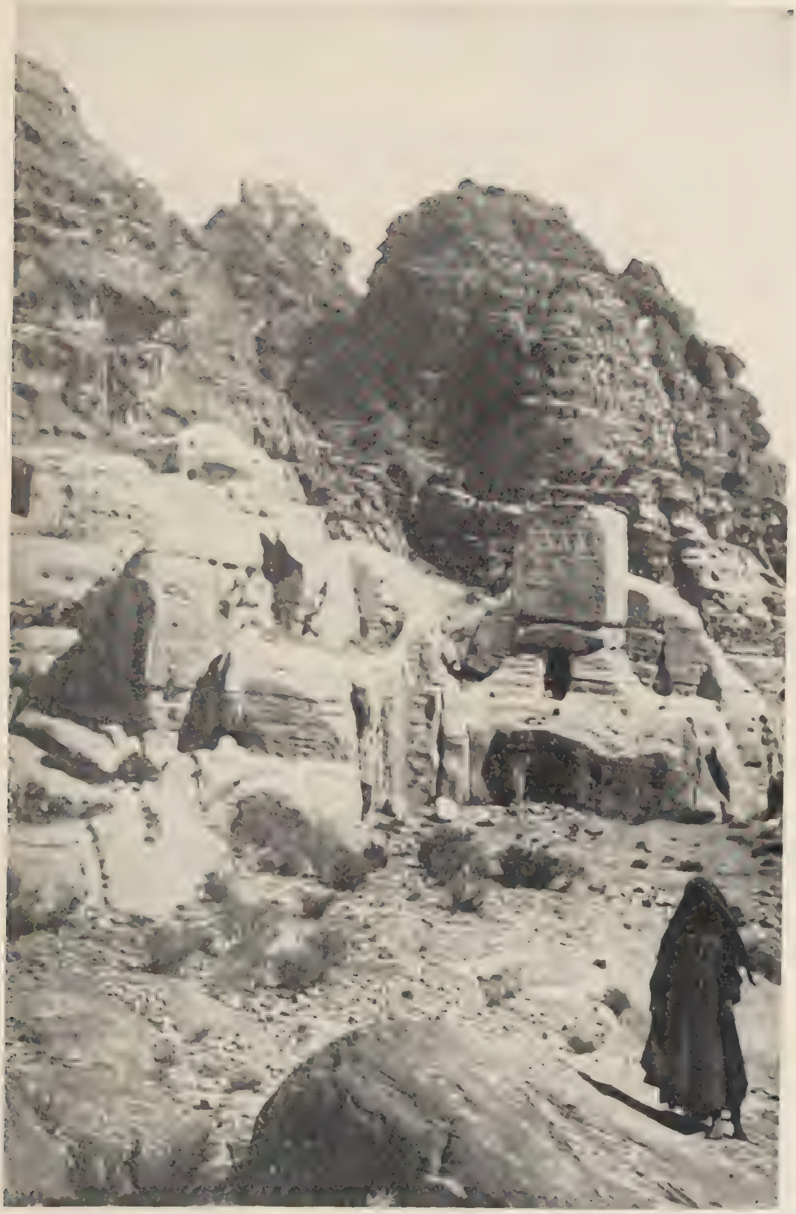
The first example of such prophetic utterances, respecting the destinies of the world at large, is the passage in Numbers, where, in contrast to Jacob, whose star and scepter are announced as about to rise and smite through the corners of Moab, the Seer adds:

> And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession, who were his enemies; while Israel doeth valiantly. And out of Jacob shall one have dominion, and shall destroy the remnant from the city (Num. 24:18, 19).

That is to say, Edom will become a vassal state, subject to God's chosen lords, the people of Israel.

Following down the course of history, Amos trenchantly rebukes Edom for her cruelty in enslaving Israel:

> For three transgressions of Edom, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever; but I will send a fire upon Teman, and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah (Amos 1:11-12).



(See Chapter XXIX) (Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem)

Tower-Tomb en route to Jabal Nabi Harûn, north of Snake Monument

Both Gaza and Tyre had delivered over captured Israelites as slaves to Edom (Amos 1:6, 9). Because of such cruelty, the same prophet continues his minatory message with a final denunciation of Edom, but with a warm promise of hope for Israel:

> In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up its ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old; *that they may possess the remnant of Edom,*[1] and all the nations that are called by my name, saith Jehovah that doeth this (Amos 9:11-12).

The prophet Joel utters similar vengeance upon Edom:

> Egypt shall be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence done to the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land. But Judah shall abide forever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation" (Joel 3:19, 20).

Isaiah leaves Seir in a quandary concerning her national future:

> The burden of Dumah. One calleth unto me out of Seir, Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night; if ye will inquire, inquire ye; turn ye, come (Isa. 21:11, 12).

What the prophet means to ask is: Which night watch is it? Just as a sick person wishes for the end of a sleepless night and is repeatedly inquiring as to the hour; so, from Edom comes the inquiry whether the night of trouble will soon be past. Will the light of day soon dawn? The answer is an enigma: Morning comes, and yet it remains night. Dawn will be succeeded by darkness; a day of prosperity by a night of trouble. No further vision has been seen. The seeker must inquire again: there are as yet no satisfactory tidings. All really that can be said is that the succession of day and night continues to go on without interruption. Morning comes and yet it remains night. The most favorable answer you can receive permits nothing better than a sort of suspense of judgment. If fuller information is desired, inquire again. It is impossible to tell how much of Edom's night is gone. No comfort can really be given until they turn to Jehovah; till then their night will be endless! More precisely the prophet tacitly refuses to speak to a people who have no understanding of the kingdom of God. If serious, however, come again! "The light of the world is Jesus."

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[1] This clause in the LXX is rendered "that the residue of men may seek after the Lord," and it is so quoted in Acts 15:17—a fine example of textual criticism!

Later in Isaiah, the prophet becomes definite and explicit: only judgment upon Edom remains future:

> For my sword hath drunk its fill in heaven; behold, it shall come down upon Edom, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment. The sword of Jehovah is filled with blood; it is made fat with fatness, with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams; for Jehovah hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. And the wild-oxen shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls; and their land shall be drunken with blood, and their dust made fat with fatness.
>
> For Jehovah hath a day of vengeance, a year of recompense for the cause of Zion. And the streams of Edom shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up forever; from generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it forever and ever. But the pelican and the porcupine

> shall possess it; and the owl and the raven shall dwell therein: and he will stretch over it the line of confusion and the plummet of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there; and all its princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in its palaces, nettles and thistles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of jackals, a court for ostriches. And the wild beasts of the desert shall meet with the wolves, and the wild goat shall cry to his fellow; yea, the night-monster shall settle there, and shall find her a place of rest. There shall the dart-snake make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shade; yea, there shall the kites be gathered, every one with her mate (Isa. 34:5-15).

A more graphic Oriental picture of dire judgment could scarcely be portrayed. With a sword "filled with blood," i.e., tempered in heaven, Jehovah will offer the Edomites of Bozrah as a sacrifice, and inaugurate his day of vengeance on Edom, causing the land with its inhabitants to be burned up, and forever to continue to burn as with pitch and brimstone. Though they invoke men of the nobility to come forward and rule, none will respond for none will remain; the land will be emptied of its inhabitants, and only wild beasts and reptiles, and thorns and thistles will remain.

This is one of the most somber and hopeless predictions of all Old Testament prophecy.

There is still another prophecy concerning Edom in the Book of Isaiah. It is found in chapter 63:1-6, and is a dramatic scene of a blood-stained warrior coming from Edom. He is tall and of strange form, and his garments are bespattered with the blood of the nations. When questioned as to who he is, and why his raiment is thus stained, he responds, that he has come from Bozrah in Edom, and that he has trodden underfoot in the winepress of Jehovah's fury Israel's chief foe. This brief prophecy is a vivid "Drama of Divine Vengeance"; it also depicts the triumph of Calvary! No human champion was at hand to save Israel, and, therefore, Jehovah arms himself and interferes in their behalf. It reads,

> Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winevat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the peoples there was no man with me: yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my wrath; and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my raiment. For the day of vengeance was in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come. And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore, mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my wrath, it upheld me. And I trod down the peoples in mine anger, and made them drunk in my wrath, and I poured out their lifeblood on the earth (Isa. 63:1-6).

The temper of this prophecy is drastic; yet, not so exceptionally drastic as one might at first imagine. Consider, for example, the final touch given by presumably the same seer to his portrait of the Obedient Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53: "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong" (v. 12)—the picture here is also that of a triumphant victor who has won a victory and beaten down his enemies! Also, consider Isaiah's description of the Messianic Son to be born, and the attributes with which he clothes him: "Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, *Father of Booty,* Prince of Peace"

(Isa. 9:6). Here the Divine Victor predicted is to bring home after all his conflicts, heaps of booty![2] Just so, in the passage before us (63:1-6), Edom's booty will be placed at Israel's disposal; for, Jehovah has completely vanquished their worst enemy!

The Vision of Obadiah is another striking prophetic word of denunciation against Edom. With indignation the prophet describes Edom's ruin, and tells the reasons why Jehovah is determined to destroy her:

> Thus saith the Lord Jehovah concerning Edom: We have heard tidings from Jehovah, and an ambassador is sent among the nations, saying, Arise ye, and let us rise up against her in battle. Behold, I have made thee small among the nations: thou art greatly despised. The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou mount on high as the eagle, and though thy nest be set among the stars, I will bring thee down from thence, saith Jehovah. If thieves come to thee, if robbers by night (how art thou cut off!). Would they not steal only till they had enough? if grape-gatherers came to thee, would they not leave some gleaning grapes? How are the things of Esau searched! how are his hidden treasures sought out! All the men of thy confederacy have brought thee on thy way even to the border: the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee and prevailed against thee; they that eat thy bread lay a snare under thee: there is no understanding in him. Shall I not in that day, saith Jehovah, destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed, to

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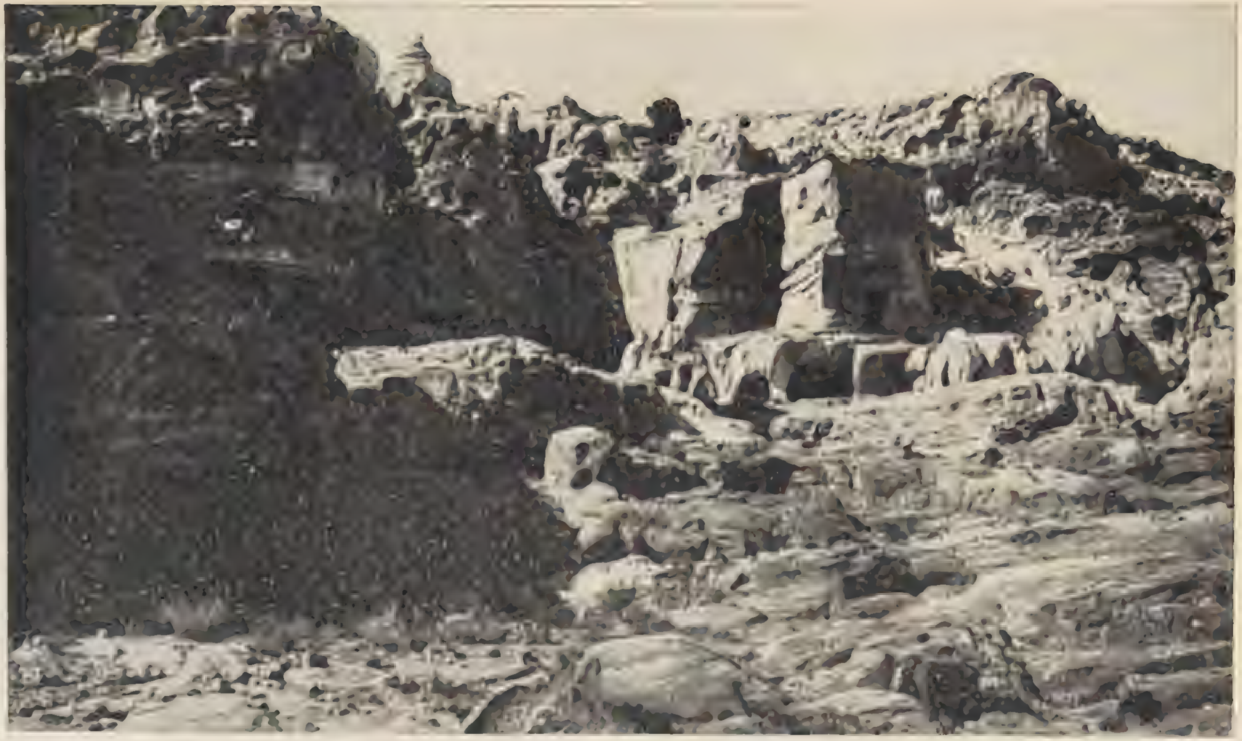
[2] There are two words in Hebrew, spelled alike; the one signifying "eternity," and the other, "booty." The latter is the one probably employed here: compare Gen. 49:27; especially the prediction, Isa. 53:12.



(*See Chapter XXIX*) (*Photograph by American Colony, Jerusalem*)

Serpent Monument and Tower-Block Tomb on the way to Jabal Nabi Harûn the end that every one may be cut off from the mount of Esau by slaughter.

For the violence done to thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever. In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that strangers carried away his substance, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them. But look not thou on the day of thy brother in the day of his disaster, and rejoice not over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither speak thou proudly in the day of distress. Enter not into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, look not thou on their affliction in the day of their calamity, neither lay ye hands on their substance in the day of their calamity. And stand thou not in the crossway, to cut off those of his that escape; and deliver not up those of his that remain in the day of distress.

For the day of Jehovah is near upon all the nations: as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy dealing shall return upon thine own head. For as ye have drunk upon my holy mountain, so shall all the nations drink continually; yea, they shall drink, and swallow down, and shall be as though they had not been. But in mount Zion there shall be those that escape, and it shall be holy; and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions. And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall burn among them, and devour them; and there shall not be any remaining to the house of Esau; for Jehovah hath spoken it. And they of the South shall possess the mount of Esau, and they of the lowland the Philistines; and they shall possess the field of Ephraim, and the field of Samaria; and Benjamin shall possess Gilead. And the captives of this host of the children of Israel, that are among the Canaanites, shall possess even unto Zarephath; and

> the captives of Jerusalem that are in Sepharad shall possess the cities of the South. And saviours shall come up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be Jehovah's (The Book of Obadiah).

Obadiah's message is reflected in Jeremiah 49:7-22: the parallels between the texts of the two prophecies evidencing an obvious interdependence. Some are of the opinion that Jeremiah is the original, and that Obadiah borrowed from him the parts in common. It is better, however, in the writer's judgment, to regard Obadiah as the originator of this Vision concerning Edom, otherwise the rank assigned this prophet as worthy of a place among the Twelve would be quite unjustified. In Obadiah, however, the allusion quite possibly is to the calamity which befell Judah at the hands of Sennacherib in 701 B.C., whereas, Jeremiah reiterates in similar terms much of Obadiah's threats of destructive judgment, applying them to the final calamity of Jerusalem at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. In both prophecies, Edom's destruction is portrayed as absolute and inevitable (Obad. 18; Jer. 49:17, 18): her cities, Teman, Dedan and Bozrah, her treasures and her wisdom, even her pride, shall all be taken away and she shall be no more; Esau shall be made "bare" (Jer. 49:10)!

Ezekiel reaffirms, in three separate oracles, all that his predecessors had predicted. His first oracle reads:

> Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them; therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah, I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman; even unto Dedan shall they fall by the

> sword. And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel; and they shall do in Edom according to mine anger and according to my wrath; and they shall know my vengeance, saith the Lord Jehovah (Ezek. 25:12-14).

In this brief fulmination of the prophet he declares that Jehovah will return vengeance for vengeance; and Edom and her cities will fall by the sword! Of this he has no doubt.

His second message is summed up in a single sentence, telling how Jehovah's calamity of judgment affected Edom:

> There is Edom, her kings and all her princes, who in their might are laid with them that are slain by the sword: they shall lie with the uncircumcised, and with them that go down to the pit (Ezek. 32:29).

The picture is one of grave and solemn eschatology.

The last utterance of Ezekiel directed against Edom is found in chapters 35 and 36:

> Moreover, the word of Jehovah came unto me, saying, Son of man, set thy face against mount Seir, and prophesy against it, and say unto it, Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Behold, I am against thee, O mount Seir, and I will stretch out my hand against thee, and I will make thee a desolation and an astonishment. I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate; and thou shalt know that I am Jehovah. Because thou hast had a perpetual enmity, and hast given over the children of Israel to the power of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time of the iniquity of the end; therefore, as I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I will prepare thee unto blood, and blood shall pursue thee; since thou hast not hated blood, therefore, blood shall pursue thee. Thus will I make mount Seir an astonishment and a desolation; and I will cut off from it him

> that passeth through and him that returneth. And I will fill its mountains with its slain: in thy hills and in thy valleys and in all thy water courses shall they fall that are slain with the sword. I will make thee a perpetual desolation, and thy cities shall not be inhabited; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah.
>
> Because thou hast said, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it; whereas Jehovah was there; therefore, as I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, I will do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast showed out of thy hatred against them; and I will make myself known among them, when I shall judge thee. And thou shalt know that I, Jehovah, have heard all thy revilings which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are laid desolate, they are given to us to devour. And ye have magnified yourselves against us with your mouth, and have multiplied your words against me: I have heard it. Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: when the whole earth rejoiceth, I will make thee desolate. As thou didst rejoice over the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee; thou shalt be desolate, O mount Seir, and all Edom, even all of it; and they shall know that I am Jehovah (Ezek. 35:1-15).
>
> Surely in the fire of my jealousy have I spoken against the residue of the nations, and against all Edom, that have appointed my land unto themselves for a possession with the joy of all their heart, with despite of soul, to cast it out for a prey (36:5).

Here, again, in this late Old Testament prediction, Mt. Seir is condemned by Jehovah, and her cities denounced because of their perpetual enmity toward Israel, and because they helped Israel's enemies in the final overthrow of Jerusalem. For all this, Mt. Seir will become an astonishment and a desolation, her inhabitants will fall by the sword and her cities shall become uninhabited (vs. 7, 9). Because, all her envy and hatred and revilings have been long known to Jehovah, therefore, her judgment will be complete.

The prophet Malachi completes the awful picture describing Edom's doom!

> I have loved you, saith Jehovah. Yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us? Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith Jehovah: yet I loved Jacob; but Esau I hated, and made his mountains a desolation, and gave his heritage to the jackals of the wilderness. Whereas Edom saith, We are beaten down, but we will return and build the waste places; thus saith Jehovah of hosts, They shall build, but I will throw down, and men shall call them The border of wickedness, and The people against whom Jehovah hath indignation forever. And your eyes shall see, and ye shall say, Jehovah be magnified beyond the border of Israel (Mal. 1:2-5).

Edom's tragic end has come. Jehovah's final pronouncement accordingly, is one, not of blessing, but of wrath! Esau's hate of Israel has caused Jehovah in the end to hate him. And the proof of the Divine hatred is the fact, that in the case of Jacob, who had suffered calamity and gone into captivity, Jehovah had brought him back, and he was again in possession of his former territory; whereas, Esau had not been brought back from exile, neither would he ever return! And so, forever and ever, Edom shall be called "the Border of Wickedness"; and the Edomites shall go down in history as "the people against whom Jehovah hath indignation forever!"

Thus closes the Old Testament picture of Edom's doom, without any ray of light or possibility of relief!

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE LITERATURE OF PIONEER EXPLORERS

THE explorers of Edom and its isolated Rock-capital are comparatively few. Even of those who were brave enough to press all the way into the wild recesses of the country, only an occasional visitor ever felt competent to report what he had seen. Here are the principal authorities, and a record of their writings.

SEETZEN, who, while exploring the Peninsula of Sinai in 1805-1806, tried also to reach Petra, but failed. Compare his *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phonicien, die Transjordan Länder, Arabia Petræa und Unter-Ægypten in 1806,* Vols. I-III, 1854-55; Vol. IV, 1859.

BURCKHARDT, in 1812, aware of Seetzen's failure to get into Petra, and the impossibility of obtaining permission from the Arabs of the district to enter, pretended that he had "made a vow to slaughter a goat in honor of Aaron, and by this strategem obtained an entrance. To this, his guide had nothing to oppose; the dread of drawing upon himself, by resistance, the wrath of Aaron completely silenced him." An interesting account of his experiences is to be found in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land in 1810-12,* published in 1822.

IRBY and MANGLES, commanders in the British Navy, spent two years (1817-18) traveling in the Orient. They approached Petra from the north and spent two days in the city exploring its monuments. They even ascended Jabal Nabi Harûn; but they were unable to find the wâdi which leads up to the Dair. They wrote a diary of their experiences, entitled, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and the Holy Land,* 1868.

DAVID ROBERTS, in 1829, spent some time in Petra;

enough to make the drawings which accompany his three volumes, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumæa, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia,* 1849.

LABORDE, in 1828, traveled through Arabia Petræa to Mount Sinai and Petra, visiting 'Aḳabah and Wâdi Sabra en route, and published an account of his experiences in a volume called *A Journey Through Arabia Petræa, to Mount Sinai and the Excavated City of Petra, the Edom of Prophecies,* 1838.

An American named STEPHENS, in 1836, visited Arabia Petræa, crossing from Egypt by 'Aḳabah and Petra to the Holy Land, and published an account of his trip in a book called, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land,* 1838.

VON SCHUBERT, in the years 1836-37, made a similar journey, touching 'Aḳabah and Petra, and wrote three volumes, entitled: *Reise in das Morgenland in den Jahren 1836 und 1837;* which were published in 1838-39.

EDWARD ROBINSON, in 1838, spent only a brief day, or two, in Petra, but described what he saw, with his accustomed and characteristic accuracy, in his celebrated work, called *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions.* (Three volumes; see especially Vol. II). Eleventh edition, 1874.

LINDSAY, also in 1838, having crossed from 'Aḳabah to Hebron via Petra, wrote his *Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land,* 1847.

In the year 1840, at least five different explorers visited Petra, and published the results of their findings:

LAYARD, *Early Adventures in Persia, etc.,* 1887 (especially Vol. I, pp. 54-63).

MORRIS, *Notes of a Tour through Turkey, Greece, Egypt, and Arabia Petræa, to the Holy Land, etc.,* 1842.

KOLLER, *Journey of the Royal Geographical Society,* 1843, pp. 75-79.

FORMBY, *A Visit to the East: comprising Germany and the Danube, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt and Idumæa,* 1843.

OLIN, *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land* (two volumes), 1843.

CASTLEREAGH, in a two-volume work, tells of the four days he spent in Petra in 1842; and describes, how above the theater on the top of a high mountain he found "some ruins with an excavation resembling a large shallow tank and two very insignificant obelisks, all more or less in ruins." But Castlereagh failed to recognize "a very perfect place of sacrifice." The published account of his travels, in two volumes, is entitled, *A Journey to Damascus through Egypt, Nubia, Arabia Petræa, Palestine and Syria,* 1847.

In 1843, JOHN WILSON crossed from Sinai to Petra, spent five days among the ruins of the city, and published his impressions in two volumes, with maps and illustrations: *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described,* etc., 1847.

In 1845, BARTLETT covered much of the same ground, visiting Petra, climbing Jabal Nabi Harûn, and describing the whole region with praiseworthy vividness and accuracy. His Vignettes of the Sîḳ, the Khazneh, the Theater, the Dair, and other Monuments, and his description of the view from Jabal Nabi Harûn, are particularly fine! The whole is published under the title: *Forty Days in the Desert, on the Track of the Israelites; or a Journey from Cairo, by Wâdi Feirân, to Mount Sinai and Petra,* 1848.

In 1847, HARRIET MARTINEAU spent three days in Petra, writing a most interesting story of her experiences, climbing Jabal Nabi Harûn; and having observed a rushing flood down Wâdi Mûsa. She describes the number of the Nabatean tombs of Petra in terms of "thousands." Her volume appeared under the title, *Eastern Life, Present and Past,* 1848.

HOWARD CROSBY, after visiting Petra and parts of Edom, published a most readable monograph, under the pseudonym, "El-Muḳattem" (the author), calling his volume, *Lands of the Moslem,* 1851.

DIETERICI in 1849 made a thorough exploration of the whole region, and published his observations in two parts, under the general title, *Reisebilder aus dem Morgenlande,* 1853.

DEAN STANLEY in 1853 succeeded in entering Petra and also climbing Jabal Nabi Harûn. He speaks rightly of the Sîḳ as "unquestionably the great glory of Petra"; but he identifies, unwarrantably, Petra with Kadesh-barnea. He entitles his volume, *Sinai and Palestine in Connection with their History* (New Edition), 1890.

DUC DE LUYNES, in 1864, spent two days in Petra; his "notes" having been posthumously edited and published by de Vogüe, in three volumes, with an atlas: *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte, à Pétra et sur la rive gauche du Jordain,* 1866.

In 1865, VISCONTI spent four days in Petra, and published an account of his explorations and discoveries in a volume called *Diario di un viaggio in Arabia Petræa,* 1872.

PALMER, in 1870, visited Petra, and adjacent parts, and published his journal under the caption, *The Desert of the Exodus,* 1872.

MAUGHAN in 1872 approached Petra from the southwest and wrote a book entitled, *The Alps of Arabia: Travels in Egypt, Sinai, Arabia, and the Holy Land,* 1875.

DOUGHTY, in 1875, approached Petra from Ma'ân, via Shaubak, and left via 'Akabah. He observed that, "In this country every marvel is ascribed to Pharaoh, who made himself to be worshiped as a god, and here resisted Moses and Aaron." The Khazneh he describes as "the most perfect of monuments, whose sculptured columns and cornices are pure lines of crystalline beauty without blemish, whereupon the golden sun looks from above, and Nature has painted that sand rock ruddy with iron rust." But he evidently saw little of Petra's real beauty; and what he did see he failed to appreciate. He says, "Strange and horrible as a pit in the inhuman deadness of nature is this site of the Nabateans' metropolis. The eye recoils from that mountainous close of iron cliffs, in which the ghastly waste monuments of a sumptuous barbaric art are from the first glance an eyesore." Yet he perceived clearly that the monuments of Petra are "mostly sepulchral." See his *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (two volumes), 1888.

In 1882 EDWARD L. WILSON, an American photographer, visited Petra and recorded glimpses of his hasty visit; but being an artist and having but little knowledge of things archæological, he failed to appreciate the things he saw; yet he recognized the Great High Place as "an Altar of

Baal" and photographed it. See his *In Scripture Lands,* 1891.

HULL and HART, in 1883, studied with some care the geology and flora, respectively, of the Land of Edom, and published their conclusions in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund:* the former, in an article, "Narrative of an Expedition through Arabia Petræa, the Valley of the 'Arabah, and Western Palestine," 1884, pp. 114-136; and the latter, in an article, entitled, "A Naturalist's Journey to Sinai, Petra, and South Palestine," 1885, pp. 231-286. See also, Hull's book, entitled, *Mount Seir,* 1885.

HORNSTEIN, in 1895, visited Petra, and wrote an article entitled, "A Visit to Kerak and Petra," for the *Quarterly Statement,* 1898, pp. 94-103.

FORDER in 1895, and again in 1900, visited Petra and published a brief account of his trips under the caption, "Sela or Petra, the Ruined Capital of Edom," *The Biblical World,* 1901, pp. 328-337. See also his book, *Petra, Perea, and Phoenicia,* 1923.

GRAY HILL, likewise, in 1896, visited Edom's capital city, and wrote articles entitled, "A Journey to Petra, 1896," *Quarterly Statement,* 1897, pp. 35-44; 134-144.

LAGRANGE, too, visited Petra in 1896; and published an article *"Notre exploration de Pétra," Revue Biblique,* 1897, pp. 208-230.

VINCENT, in the same year, 1896, explored Petra, and published his findings in three articles in the *Revue Biblique,* 1897, pp. 208-230; 1898, pp. 424-451; and 1903, pp. 280-288.

BRÜNNOW and DOMASZEWSKI, in 1897, spent ten days in Petra; and, in 1898, accompanied by Euting, revisited Petra, spending fourteen days, and examining over 800 monuments of different kinds; which, with plans and maps and other well-chosen illustrations, they published in three volumes, under the title, *Die Provincia Arabia;* Vol. I, 1904; Vol II, 1905; and Vol. III, 1909. This immense quarto is the most valuable work on Petra which has ever yet appeared. It is, indeed, quite indispensable to a thorough study of the place.

C. W. WILSON, in 1899, spent several days in Petra, but is content to sum up all his impressions in an "Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund," which was published in the *Quarterly Statement,* 1899, pp. 304-316.

GEORGE L. ROBINSON, in May, 1900, accompanied by A. Forder, was allowed to remain three days in Petra, and reported his discovery of the Great High Place, first, in an article, "The Newly Discovered High Place at Petra in Edom," in the *Biblical World,* 1901, pp. 6-16; *ibid.,* "The High Places of Petra," 1908, pp. 8-21; and also, the same, revised, under the title, *"Die Opferstätte bei Petra,"* in a *Sonderabdruck aus der Zeits. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* 1909, pp. 21-32.

Since the discovery of the Great High Place, in 1900, Petra has attracted numerous explorers, as well as ordinary tourist-travelers. Among those who have in recent years visited this Mecca of archæological interest, and written about it, are the following:

CURTISS, in July, 1900, accompanied by A. Forder; in an article, "High Place and Altar at Petra," *Quarterly Statement,* 1900, pp. 350-355.

JAUSSEN, in 1902, *"Voyage du Sinaï," Revue Biblique,* 1903, pp. 100-114; also, *ibid.,* 1906, pp. 444-464.

LIBBEY and HOSKINS, in 1902, had the good fortune to discover the High Place behind the Citadel Rock known as al-Ḥabîs. Hoskins published a description of it in an article, entitled, "The Second High Place at Petra," *Biblical World,* 1903, pp. 167-174. Two years later these two gentlemen, together, published an account of their travels in two volumes, under the title, *The Jordan Valley and Petra,* 1905. Unfortunately their work is marred by misstatements, and oftentimes glaring inaccuracies.

ALOIS MUSIL first visited Petra in 1896, but he did not publish his findings until 1907. Meanwhile he had been to Petra five different times. By waiting, he had the advantage of what others had discovered and published. For example, Brünnow's epoch-making first volume had meanwhile appeared (1904). Musil made a special study of Petra's classical monuments: in particular, those which in any way related to High Places and cult. His writings are thoroughgoing, though not always reliable. They are, *Arabia Petræa*, 1907 (three volumes; the second of which is on "Edom"); and a more recent volume, entitled, *Arabia Deserta,* 1927.

It is DALMAN who brings Petra literature to its climax. His volumes are of special importance. Being the President of the *"Deutsch Evangelische Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes"* in Jerusalem, he was able to visit, and revisit, Petra several times. Because of his native bent and official position, he naturally gave himself to a study of Nabatean history and religion. On his repeated trips to Petra, he discovered new High Places of which he gives most interesting and detailed descriptions. His principal works are: *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer,* 1908; and *Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem,* 1912. The great value of Dalman's writings is that he gives not only the facts and details of the principal monuments of the Necropolis, but he also interprets them. And his interpretations are particularly valuable because they are the interpretations of a specialist, who has given a long life to the decipherment of archæological problems. It is the Germans, anyway, who have really described Petra. Their industry and thoroughness are still the acme of scholarship.

WIEGAND, accompanied by Bachmann and Watzinger, visited Petra in 1916; and, with characteristic skill, applied himself to the real topography of the metropolis; for example, he studied the city site with thoroughness, discovering the existence of a second (smaller) theater in the lower Sîḳ; he also dated the carving of the Khazneh in the Augustan age, long before the Romans took possession of Petra; and he showed how the waters of Wâdi Mûsa were diverted under a viaduct into the tunnel north of the entrance to the Sîḳ. He also explained how the now fallen arch over the entrance to the Sîḳ was probably once used. His work is entitled, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz—Commandos* (Heft III, "Petra"), 1921.

Among the more recent explorers of this great rock-red capital of Edom is an English engineer, named KENNEDY, who in company with Mr. Philby, at one time the Chief British Representative in Trans-Jordan, visited Petra in 1922, 1923, and again in 1924, and, with the help of Philby, has published a rather exceptional monograph, entitled, *Petra, Its History and Monuments,* 1925. The volume is well printed, contains airplane maps, over two hundred illustrations, and some eighty-two pages of descriptive and historical matter. The half tones are of very superior quality, and the opening chapter, by Philby, giving a "General description of Petra and its surroundings," is especially valuable!

A bibliographical list of the literature which belongs properly to the field of research with which this monograph is concerned, however, would not be complete without the mention of other authors, who have written on one or other of the many questions involved, with more or less authority and illumination. We would, therefore, add the following names to those of the Pioneers already cited:

F. BUHL, *Geschichte der Edomiter,* 1893. A scholarly and condensed presentation in brief form of the essential facts.

W. R. SMITH, *Kinship and Marriage,* 1903; and *The Religion of the Semites,* 1894.

I. LEVY, *Les Horites, Edom et Jacob dans les Monuments Égyptiens,* 1906.

E. MEYER, *Die Israeliten und Ihre Nachbarstämme,* 1906.

G. A. SMITH, "The Land of Edom," *Expositor,* 1908, pp. 325-336; 506-517.

DHORME, *Le Pays de Job,* 1911.

SAVIGNAC, *"Le Haut Lieu de Petra," Revue Biblique,* 1903, pp. 280-288.

J. EUTING, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabia,* 1885.

G. A. COOKE, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions,* 1903.

NÖLDEKE, *"Die grosse Inschrift von Petra," Zeits. für Assyriologie,* 1897, pp. 1-7.

C. C. TORREY, "Edom," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1898.

N. SCHMIDT, "Kadesh Barnea," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 1910, pp. 61-76.

J. G. FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* 1906.

TRUMBULL, *Kadesh-Barnea, Its Importance and Probable Site,* 1884.

BAETHGEN, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* 1888.

TIELE, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum,* I, 1896.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, "Les jardins et les irrigations de Petra," *Recueil d'Archeologie Orientale,* ii, pp. 93ff.

WILTON, *The Negeb, or "South Country" of Scripture,* 1863. The author was marvelously accurate for one who had never visited the Orient.

BURTON, *The Land of Midian* (two volumes), 1879.

MEISNER, *"Die Kinder Edom nach der heiligen Schrift," Zeits. lutherische Theologie und Kirche,* 1862, pp. 201-248.

MORITZ, *"Edomitische Genealogien," Zeits. der alttest. Wissenschaft,* 1926, Heft 2, Band iii, pp. 81ff.

MRS. STEWART ERSKINE, *The Vanished Cities of Arabia,* 1924.

K. VON RAUMER, *Palästina,* 1860. Though he never visited Petra, he writes a chapter on "Petra," pp. 274-282; he also makes Edom the fatherland of Job, and he identifies Kadesh-barnea with 'Ain Ḥasb.

C. F. VOLNEY, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les Années, 1783-85* (two volumes), 1787; also in English, 1788.

BAEDEKER, *Palestine and Syria* (revised by Benziger), 1912.

EUSEBIUS and JEROME, *Onomastica Sacra,* edited by Lagarde, 1887.

ABULFEDA, *Tabula Syriæ* (Köhler's edition), 1766. The author was an emir of Hamath in Syria; he describes the country as an eyewitness.

WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia Rerum in Partibus transmarinis gestarum,* etc., 1549. The author became archbishop of Tyre in 1174, and is the chief and most important historian of the Crusades. His work contains many valuable topographical notices.

F. C. BURKITT, *Palestine in General History* (The Schweich Lectures for 1926; Part III, "Petra and Palmyra," pp. 85-106), 1929.

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER, "Edomitic Wisdom," *Zeits. für Alttest. Wissenschaft,* pp. 13-25, Band III, 1926.

APPENDIX II

THE AUTHOR'S REPEATED VISITS TO PETRA

It has been the author's high privilege to visit Petra five different times, spending in all 90 days on the journey, of which approximately 28 days were occupied examining the ruins of Petra, alone.

The first trip was made April 24 to May 12, 1900, in company with an Englishman named Archibald Forder. We went on horseback from Jerusalem via Jericho, Mâdaba, Mashutta, Wâdi Mojib (the Arnon), Wâdi Wâli, Dibân, Kerak, Tafîla, and Shaubak to Petra, arriving on May 2, and compelled to leave on May 4. It was on this trip that we discovered the Great High Place, described elsewhere in this volume. Returning, we followed the same route as far back as Tafîla, at which point, we struck down over an almost impossible road into the Ghor as-Sâfieh, at the south end of the Dead Sea. Thence we crossed the Sabkha to Zuera, Beersheba, and Hebron, and so back to Jerusalem. Out of the nineteen days spent on this trip we slept thirteen nights on the ground, with only a coarse blanket underneath and about us; having thrown ourselves with abandon upon the mercy and hospitality of the Bedouin, lest we should excite unduly Arab cupidity!

On the second trip, May 1 to 31, 1907, in company with Mrs. Robinson and Mr. Forder, we journeyed on horseback via Hebron, Beit Jibrîn, Beersheba, Tell Arâra, Wâdi Milḥ, as-Seir, Eboda, Kurnub, Wâdi Fiḳreh, ʻAin Ḥasb, ʻAin al-Weibeh, ʻAin Ghamr, ʻAin at-Tayyibeh, and Wâdi Rubaʻi, to Petra. After a pause of two days we escorted Mrs. Robinson via Alji to Maʻân, where she joined another party and returned by train to Ammân, and thence by horseback to Jerusalem. Forder and the author returned from Maʻân to Petra via al-Basta and ʻAin Mûsa, and spent the next seven days in Petra, discovering four new High Places, and taking minute measurements of many objects of special archæological interest. We climbed to the summit of Jabal Nabi Harûn, making a thorough investigation of the traditional tomb of Aaron. We also visited the suburbs of as-Sabra and al-Bârid, and explored the ravine of Wâdi Mudhlim from the Tunnel to an-Nasara. Returning from Petra we examined with special care the interior of the city of Shaubak, also the ruins of Dhâna and Bozrah, camping at 'Ain Jâlidi. Thence, we plunged down into the 'Arabah, striking en route what we were convinced must once have been "the King's Highway," visiting 'Ain Ḥasb and 'Ain Shebîyeh, and climbing Jabal Maderah (very probably the true Mt. Hor of Scripture). Thence we followed Wâdi Murreh, crossing southwest to 'Abda, and 'Ain Ḳadees (Kadesh-barnea); then, turning northwest, we visited 'Ain al-Ḳuderat, 'Ain Ḳusaimah, Muwailah, al-Birain, al-'Aujeh, Sabaita, al-Abiyad, al-'Asluj (Ziklag?), Khalâsa, Beersheba, Tell as-Saba', Eshtamoah, Juttah, Ziph, Maon, Kurmul, and Hebron; and so back to Jerusalem. We were gone on this trip thirty-one days.

The third trip was made in July of the same year, 1907. On this trip we were invited to accompany some eighteen professors and missionaries from Beirût and Mt. Lebanon. We journeyed by the Hejâz railroad, covering the distance (287 miles) from Damascus to Ma'ân in almost exactly twenty-four hours. From Ma'ân to Petra we rode on horses, mules and donkeys—the choicest animals in Ma'ân available at that time—riding from five P.M. till three-fifteen A.M. in beautiful moonlight! The ride through the umbrageous Sîḳ was thrilling! Petra itself with its variegated monuments was enchantingly beautiful! The experience was one long to be remembered. We remained in Petra five days. Doctors Post and Porter, Professors Crawford and Day, President and Mrs. Howard S. Bliss, Misses Jessup and Harvey, among others, were members of the party. Particular attention was given to archæological details. We were gone nine days, July 22-30.

On our fourth trip, March 9 to April 2, 1914, we were accompanied by five of our students of archæology from the

American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem: namely, Willard H. Robinson, Jr., E. W. R. Mould, Angus MacDonald, Jessy Lomax and Louise Pettibone Smith. We left Jerusalem, March 9, going on horseback via Engedi, Masada, Jabal Usdum, 'Ain 'Arûs, Jabal Maderah, 'Ain Ḥasb, Wâdi Fuwâr, passing 'Ain al-Weibeh, climbing up from the 'Arabah to the heights of Petra's suburbs on the north, al-Bârid and al-Baidha, and so on to Petra. We remained in Petra five days, returning via Shaubak, Bozrah, Tafîla, Kerak, Wâdi Mojib, Makaeris, Mâdaba, Mt. Nebo, Ammân, Jarash, the Jabbok, as-Salt, Jabal 'Osha, 'Arak al-Amîr, Jericho, and Nabi Mûsa to Jerusalem. We were gone from Jerusalem in all twenty-five days.

Our fifth visit to Petra was made by automobile, June 7 to 13, 1928. There were ten in the party, including Director W. F. Albright of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem; Mr. G. E. Matson of the American Colony, Jerusalem, who accompanied us as our special photographer; Mrs. Robinson, Professor and Mrs. Zachariah Davies, Rev. and Mrs. Stephen E. Palmer, Mr. Wright and Miss Wilson. Two days were required for the journey each way from Jerusalem to 'Ain Mûsa. We went via Jericho, Jarash, Ammân, Mâdaba, Ma'ân, and al-Basta, and returned by Ma'ân, Ammân and Jericho. From 'Ain Mûsa to Alji, and through the Sîḳ into Petra, we rode on horseback. The best part of three days was spent in Petra. On Sunday we climbed up to the Great High Place, and there held a brief service of worship, dedicating its court and altars to the religion of Calvary!

Though five trips might seem sufficient to satisfy the most enthusiastic, yet we are willing to admit that Petra has a fascination which still lures the heart fond of adventure and exploration. Our repeated visits and our varied approaches have naturally afforded us rich opportunities to see many of the most important parts of the country, both east and west of the 'Arabah. We long to return!

APPENDIX III

ESAU'S WIVES

THE author of the Book of Genesis gives hints of the different racial elements which entered into the people of Edom, specifying both the names and the nationalities of Esau's wives. For example, he chronicles the fact that Esau took at least three wives and emphasizes the fact that they were all foreigners, even Hittites, who belonged to that detested tribe which was hopelessly pagan and impious, and doomed to pass into oblivion. Such women of course would inevitably pollute the pure stream of the Abrahamic lineage and unfit it for becoming the channel of righteousness and salvation which it might have been. Naturally, therefore, these foreign wives became a source of heart-burning grief to Isaac and Rebekah. By such alliances, Esau demonstrated his utter indifference to the honor and dignity of his descendants, and betrayed how he thought only of himself and the transitory hour. He even added an Ishmaelite wife to these Hittite women, when he saw that his other wives displeased his father (28:8,9).

Here is a catalogue of his marriages. In Genesis 26:34 we are told that he took as wives,

1. Judith, daughter of Beeri, the Hittite, and
2. Basemath, daughter of Elon, the Hittite,

And in Genesis 28:9 it is stated that he also took,

3. Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth.

Again, in Genesis 36:2-4, it is repeated that Esau took wives of the daughters of Canaan: namely,

1. Adah, daughter of Elon, the Hittite;

2. Oholibamah, daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite; and,
3. Basemath, daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebaioth.

These passages, however, are regarded as in serious conflict with each other. Wellhausen pronounces them "the most open contradiction in the whole of Genesis."[1] Delitzsch concludes his comments on them, saying, "However we may reconcile and combine them there still remains a discrepancy."[2] Skinner says, "The confusion is too great to be accounted for naturally by textual corruption, though that may have played a part."[3] Kalisch, "It is impossible to bring these passages into harmony. We are obliged to confess that the Hebrew text, though containing several important coincidences, evidently embodies two accounts irreconcilably different."[4] Ryle, "The differences are too considerable to have arisen from corruptions in the text."[5] Driver, "The names are strangely interchanged in the two lists (Gen. 26:34; 28:9; and 36:9-14)."[6] Bennett, "The material we have marked in Gen. 36 as belonging to P is not at all consistent."[7] Dillmann, "The three wives married by Esau in Canaan have names which are either wholly different, or only partially in agreement with those in Gen. 36:1-5."[8]

The popular critical solution of the difficulty, accordingly, is that it is due to "a difference of tradition";[9] and, it is emphasized, that "either the entire literary criticism of the biblical historical books is baseless and nugatory, or, these passages are from different sources";[10] Kalisch adding, that it is "a difficulty which can only be overlooked by negligence, and disregarded by uncritical indifference."[11]

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[1] *Die Composition des Hexateuchs,* 1889, p. 49.

[2] *A New Commentary on Genesis,* II, 1894, p. 241.

[3] *A Crit. and Exeg. Comm. on Genesis,* 1910, p. 429.

[4] *Hist. and Crit. Comm. on the O.T.,* "Genesis," 1879, pp. 502, 594.

[5] *The Cambridge Bible,* "Genesis," 1914, p. 343.

[6] *Westminster Commentaries,* "The Book of Genesis," 1904, p. 313.

[7] *The New Century Bible,* p. 327.

[8] *Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded,* 1897, p. 315.

[9] Driver, *Westminster Commentaries,* "The Book of Genesis," 1904, p. 313.

[10] *Die Composition des Hexateuchs,* 1889, p. 49.

[11] *Hist. and Crit. Comm. on Genesis,* 1910, p. 594.

This critical explanation, however, is not altogether satisfactory; it is too negative. And its unsatisfactoriness is especially accentuated by the fact, that all these three passages (Gen. 26:34; 28:9; 36:1-5) are usually assigned to one and the same document, namely, the Priestly Codex (P). For example, Erith, one of the most recent commentators on the Book of Genesis, assigns, without modification, all these passages to P.[12] T. H. Robinson, still more recently, concedes, "The general style of Gen. 36 suggests P, but there are several features which make it unlikely that it comes from the main thread of that document."[13] Skinner, and the editors of *The (Oxford) Hexateuch,* explain the "sources," saying, "The facts seem to point to a redactional process and a divergent tradition within the priestly school."[14] Dillmann, likewise, allows that "A difference of tradition, or of theory, can alone satisfactorily explain the discrepancy; and this requires us to give up any idea of identity of authorship, either in Gen. 36:1-5, or in 26:34 and 28:9; the names must have been inserted from another source in P's text by R."[15]

Strange, however, that such a flagrant discrepancy should have existed within the same document! Stranger still, that an intelligent Redactor should not have seen or corrected it! There must be, therefore, as we think, a more reasonable solution of the difficulty. As Green observes, "it is quite insupposable that R. or P. or any sensible writer could have inserted, without comment or explanation, the bald contradiction here alleged."[16]

One fact is reasonably patent; namely, that according to both passages (Gen. 26:34; 28:9; and 36:1-5), Esau had but three wives, of whom two were Canaanites and one was a daughter of Ishmael. In the archaic genealogy, given of Esau in Genesis 36:9-14, his descendants are all grouped as sons of but three mothers: (a) Adah (v. 12); (b) Basemath (v. 13); and (c) Oholibamah (v. 14). And the "chiefs," also, among them, are likewise given as the descendants of the same three mothers: (a) Adah (v. 16); (b) Basemath (v. 17); and (c) Oholibamah (v. 18). So, also, in Genesis 26:34; 28:9, the names of only three wives are given.

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[12] *A New Comm. on Holy Scripture* (edited by Canon Gore, 1928, pp. 55, 60.

[13] *The Abingdon Bible Commentary,* 1929, p. 242.

[14] *A Crit. and Exeg. Comm. on Genesis,* 1910, pp. 428, 429; *The Hexateuch,* 1900, I, pp. 273, 274.

[15] *Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded,* 1897, p. 459.

[16] *The Unity of the Book of Genesis,* 1895, p. 421.

The real problem is to harmonize their names. Only a partial explanation can be given, we confess.

The list in Genesis 36:1-5 is presumably a list of their original names; i.e., the names which they bore as maidens, as daughters of Canaan.

On the other hand, the names given in Genesis 26:34; 28:9 are quite probably the names which they received when they married Esau. In the Orient, both men and women are wont to change their names when they pass important crises, or transitional stages in life. In India men change their names when they graduate from college. The monks at Mt. Sinai in the monastery of St. Catharine, on entering monastic life, change their former names to others beginning with the same letter of the alphabet; thus, for example, Constantinus may be changed to Cornelius, Alexandros to Aaron, and Ambrosius to Athanasius. Just so, the Jews in Bible times, when they were called to become disciples of Jesus, underwent a change of name, as the accompaniment of a change of life; thus, Levi was known as Matthew; Cephas became Peter; Didymus, Thomas; and Joses, Barnabas.

Especially in the case of women is a change of name common; and in particular, when they marry into a different tribe, and so change their religion. In Egypt, for example, when a Mohammedan woman marries a Christian her name is sure to be changed. So, here, in the case of Esau's wives, the

Maiden "Adah, the daughter of Elon, the Hittite" (36:2) became, probably, Madam "Basemath, the daughter of Elon, the Hittite" (26:34); and, the

Maiden "Basemath, the daughter of Ishmael, sister of Nebaioth," became Madam "Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, sister of Nebaioth" (28:9).

These identifications are perfectly simple and reasonable, affording no special difficulty. But it is otherwise with the remaining pair. How is it possible, that the

Maiden "Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite" (36:2) be identified with

Madam "Judith, the daughter of Beeri, the Hittite" (26:34)? Both her parentage and her nationality are different.

Several factors enter into the solution of the problem:

(1) The integrity of the text is open to suspicion: in 36:14, according to the Septuagint, the Samaritan, and the Peshitto Versions, Oholibamah is the daughter of Anah, the *son* (not the daughter) of Zibeon; and this reading is confirmed by verse 24, in which Anah is spoken of as feeding "the asses of Zibeon his father."[17] That is, Anah was the *son,* not the "daughter," of Zibeon.

(2) The name "Beeri," in 26:34, was probably only another name, or title, for Anah, which was given to him in consequence of his discovery of "the hot springs" in the wilderness (36:24).[18] Judith, then, in 26:34 is especially honored by being called the daughter of Beeri, the discoverer of hot springs; whereas in the cold genealogical list of 36:2, when her maiden name is employed, she is described merely as the daughter of Anah (which was Beeri's original name)!

Concerning the *nationality* of Judith and Oholibamah, there is another apparently serious contradiction; e.g., in 26:34 Judith is stated to have been descended from a Hittite; whereas, in 36:2 Oholibamah is said to have been of Hivite extraction. But here, again, there seems to be a textual confusion. There is an analogy, however, in 36:2, in which Zibeon is said to be a "Hivite," while in 36:20 he is spoken of as a "Horite." Such an error might easily have arisen, inasmuch as "Hivite" and "Horite" in Hebrew are so closely alike. The same is equally true of "Hivite" and "Hittite"; the differences between them in Hebrew are very slight. Hence, it is only justifiable parity to conclude, that if "Hivite" is interchangeable with "Horite" (36:2,

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[17] Cf. W. H. Green, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis,* 1895, p. 421.

[18] *Beer* in Hebrew means "spring"; and *Beeri,* therefore, means "spring-man."

20), why could not "Hivite" have been interchanged with "Hittite"? "Hittite," moreover, might easily include any one of the peoples of Palestine, either Canaanite or Amorite (Gen. 15:16; cf. 48:22; 34:2); while "Horite" means only a cave dweller, without reference to race or descent, but only to a particular style of habitation.

Hence, we conclude, that the

Maiden Oholibamah, the daughter of Anah (Beeri), the *son* of Zibeon, the Hittite (36:2), is best identified with

Madam Judith, the daughter of Beeri, the Hittite (26:34); and, therefore, that the alleged "discrepancy," concerning the wives of Esau, is largely imaginary!

APPENDIX IV

THE COUNTRY OF THE NABATEANS ACCORDING TO DIODORUS SICULUS

Diodorus Siculus, between 60 and 57 B.C. in his *Bibliotheca Historica*[1] describes the country of the Nabateans as follows:

> These matters having been thus set forth by us, our story will now turn to the other parts of Asia not yet described, and particularly Arabia. This country lies between Syria and Egypt, and is divided between many and various races. The eastern parts are inhabited by the Arabians, whom they call Nabateans, who dwell in a country partly desert, partly waterless, and a small part fertile. They live a predatory life, and raid and harry much of the neighbouring country, and in wars they are hard to beat. For in what is called the Waterless Region they have wells sunk in convenient places, keeping the knowledge of them from other tribes, and in this region they take refuge with impunity. For since they themselves know the hidden places of the waters they open up these and enjoy plenty of drink. But as to the strangers who are pursuing them, being without water on account of their ignorance of the wells, some perish on account of want of water, and others, after suffering much distress, reach their home again with difficulty. For this reason the Arabs who inhabit this region, since they cannot be reduced by war, continue to be free men, and, in addition to this, they never admit a ruler from outside, but maintain their freedom unshaken for ever. Therefore, neither the Assyrians of old, nor the Medes and Persians, nor, further, the Kings of the Macedonians were able to

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[1] Book II, 48.

subdue them; though they brought many great forces against them they never succeeded in bringing their enterprises to a successful issue.

Now there is also in the region of the Nabateans a rock excessively strong with only one way up, and going up by this way in small parties they deposit their baggage.

Moreover, there is a large lake which produces much bitumen, from which they derive no small revenue. Now this lake has a length of about 500 stades, and a breadth of about 60 stades. The water has an evil smell and is very bitter, so it cannot support fish or any other of the usual water animals. Though great rivers of remarkable sweetness flow into it, yet none the less it swamps this sweetness by virtue of its malodorousness. From the midst of it every year a great mass of bitumen wells up, sometimes more than three plethra broad, and sometimes two. Wherefore the barbarians who dwell round about usually call the greater gush a "Bull" and the smaller a "Calf." When the bitumen floods the land like a sea, the place appears to those who view it from a distance like an island. Now so it comes to pass that the coming of the eruption of the bitumen becomes clear to the men twenty days before. For all round the lake to a distance of many stades, a stench falls upon them in a great blast, and all the silver and gold and bronze in the district loses its natural colour; but this is regained when all the bitumen has been ejected. The neighbouring region being fiery and malodorous afflicts men's bodies with disease and makes them altogether short-lived.

But the land is good for the growth of (date) palms, as much of it is intersected by useful rivers and springs which can irrigate it. And in those regions, too, in a certain valley, what is called balsam grows, from which they get a splendid revenue, since this plant is found nowhere else in the world, and the service it renders to doctors for making drugs is superlatively great.

APPENDIX V

THE NABATEANS ACCORDING TO DIODORUS SICULUS

Diodorus Siculus, a celebrated classical author, writing between 60 and 57 B.C., describes the Nabateans in his *Bibliotheca Historica*[1] as follows:

> Antigonus, having without danger regained the whole of Syria and Phoenicia, undertook an expedition to the region of the Arabs, who are called Nabataei. Judging this race to be alien to his own interests, he chose out from his friends Athanaeus; and committing to him 4,000 light-armed infantry and 600 cavalry well fitted for speed, he ordered him to attack the barbarians suddenly and take from them all their cattle. Here it is worth while, for the sake of those ignorant of it, to recount the institutions of these Arabs, by the practice of which they seem to protect their liberty. They pass their life in the open air, giving the name of "their country" to that solitude, devoid of inhabitants, which has neither rivers nor copious springs from which it is possible for a hostile army to get water. They have a law neither to sow corn nor to plant any fruit-bearing plant, nor to use wine nor to build a house; and whoever is found acting in a contrary way is adjudged the punishment of death. This law they hold because they judge that those who possess these things will be easily compelled by powerful men to do what is ordered them because of their enjoyment of these things. Some of them keep camels, others sheep, pasturing them over the desert. Of the Arabian tribes there are not a few who graze the desert, and these are much superior to the others in the amenities of life, being in number not

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[1] XIX 94-97.

much more than 10,000. For not a few of them are wont to bring down to the sea frankincense and myrrh and the most costly of the spices, receiving them from those who convey them from what is called Arabia Felix. They are conspicuously lovers of freedom, and when a strong force of the enemy approaches, they flee into the desert, using this as a stronghold. For since it suffers from want of water it is inaccessible to the others, but to these alone who have provided pitched earthern vessels, buried beneath the earth, it affords a safe refuge. For since the land is argillaceous and has soft rock, they make great caves in it, the mouths of which they make quite small, but, ever increasing the width of them deep down, they at last render the size so great that each side measures a plethrum. They fill those vessels with rain-water and block up the mouths (of the caves), and, making them flush with the rest of the land, they leave signals there which are known to themselves, but not understood by anyone else.

They water their cattle every three days, lest while fleeing in waterless places they should require to be watered every day. Their own food is meat and milk and such edible things as spring from the ground. Pepper grows among them, and much of what is called wild honey comes from the trees which they use mixed with water as a drink. There are also other races of Arabs, some of whom till the ground, mingling with the tributaries, and have some features in common with the Syrians, except the living in houses.

These, then, are found to be the manners and customs of the Arabians; and there being near to them a great fair held to which the neighbours were wont to resort, some to sell their wares, others to buy anything they had use for, they journeyed to this, leaving in a rock their possessions, and their oldest men, along with their children and wives. Now that place was exceedingly strong, but without walls, and distant from the inhabited part a two days' journey.

Athanaeus and his men, then, carefully noting this time, set out for the Rock with his force in light order, and having, in their march from the province of Idumaea for three days and three nights, covered 2,200 stades, about midnight seized the Rock without being observed by the Arabs, and forthwith of those taken therein some they killed, others they took alive, and some who were wounded they left, and of the frankincense and myrrh they packed up and carried off the greater part, and about 500 talents of silver, and not staying longer than a watch they immediately returned with haste, judging that they would be pursued by the barbarians, and having traversed 200 stades they returned to camp quite tired out; and they kept the watches carelessly, thinking that the enemy could not come within two or three days. But the Arabs, being informed by those who had seen the camp, immediately assembled, and, leaving the fair, came to the Rock. Learning there from the wounded what had happened they in all haste pursued the Greeks, and because the soldiers of Athanaeus were camping negligently, and, on account of their weariness were buried in sleep, some of the captives ran away unobserved, from whom the Nabateans, learning the state of the enemy, attacked the camp about the third watch, not less than 8,000 in number, and most of them they slaughtered while still in their beds, but those who woke up and were flying to arms they shot down. In the end the infantry were all killed, but of the cavalry upwards of fifty got safe off, and of these most were wounded. Athenaeus' men then, while they succeeded at first, afterwards, on account of their own imprudence, met with disaster in this way. For slackness and contempt are commonly wont to follow successes. Wherefore some very properly infer that it is easier to bear disasters well than great successes with prudence. For the former (calamities) compel men, on account of their fear for the future, to careful management, but the latter, on account of the foregone success, induce men to despise everything.

But the Nabateans, having chastised their enemies like men, themselves returned to the Rock, having set their affairs in order, and sending a letter to Antigonus written in Syriac letters, accused Athanaeus, making excuses for themselves. Antigonus wrote back to them, confessing that they had justly avenged themselves, and accused Athanaeus, alleging that the attack had been made by him contrary to the orders given him. This he did in order to conceal his policy, wishing to inveigle the barbarians into slackness, that after attacking them he might succeed beyond his hopes in his enterprise. For it was not easy without craft to overcome men who had chosen a nomad life, and who had the desert as an inaccessible refuge. The Arabs were much delighted, because they seemed to have been freed from great fears; yet they did not altogether trust the words of Antigonus, but keeping their hopes ambiguous they posted lookouts on the hills from which it was easy to see from afar any incursions into Arabia. And themselves, after settling their own affairs, waited to see what would happen. Then Antigonus having proposed friendship for the barbarians for a time, and thinking that they, being taken in, had offered a good opportunity against them, selected from his whole force 4,000 armed infantry, light-armed and good at speed, and more than 4,000 cavalry, and these he ordered to bring with them food (not needing fire) for several days, and having appointed Demetrius, his son, leader, he sent them off in the first watch with the order to inflict punishment on the Arabs whatever way he could. He then, marching for three days through pathless places, hastened to entrap the barbarians.

But the scouts, perceiving an enemy force invading them, signalled to the Nabateans by means of the torches agreed upon. Therefore the barbarians, thinking that the Greeks were coming shortly, deposited their belongings in the Rock, and set over it a sufficient guard, there being only one way up, made by hand. But themselves having divided the booty, rode off by different routes into the desert. When he (Demetrius) came to the Rock, and perceived that the booty had been removed, he made continuous attacks on the place, and when those inside defended themselves vigorously, and easily prevailed on account of the strength of the position, he then, after continuing the struggle till evening, gave the signal for a retreat. On the next day, when he again brought up his forces to the Rock, one of the barbarians cried out: "O King Demetrius, what do you want, or what induces you to make war with us, who live in a solitude, and places which have neither water, nor corn, nor wine, nor absolutely any of those things that among you are considered necessities. We, refusing to admit of slavery on any terms, have fled for refuge into a country in want of all these things necessary to others, and chosen to live a life solitary and altogether wild, doing no harm to you. We beg, therefore, both you and your father not to wrong us, but after taking gifts from us to lead off your army, and to consider the Nabateans your friends for the future. For even if you wish it you cannot stay here many days, being in want of water and all other necessaries; nor can you compel us to love another life; but you will only have some captives as slaves with dejected minds and men who could not endure to live under other laws." When such speeches had been made, Demetrius, leading away his army, bade them send ambassadors about these matters, and the Arabs sent their eldest men, who, saying much the same as what has already been stated, persuaded (Demetrius) to accept such gifts as are most precious among them, and to put an end to the whole business.

APPENDIX VI

STRABO'S DESCRIPTION OF THE NABATEANS

STRABO (66 B.C.-24 A.D.), writing shortly after the beginning of the first century A.D., gives another version of the conditions as they prevailed in Petra and the surrounding parts in his day. He tells us that he derived his information from his friend Athenodorus, a Stoic philosopher and the tutor of Augustus, who was born in Petra. He says:

> The western extremities of Judaea towards Casius are occupied by Idumaeans, and by the lake (Serbonis). The Idumaeans are Nabateans. When driven from their country (Arabia Petraea) by sedition, they passed over to the Jews, and adopted their customs.[1]
>
> Near the island of Phocae (Seals) is a promontory (Ras Mohammed, which terminates the south of the Sinai Peninsula), which extends towards Petra, of the Arabians called Nabataei, and to the country of Palestine. Next to it is the Aelanitic Gulf (the Gulf of 'Aḳabah) and Nabatea, a country well peopled, and abounding in cattle. The islands which lie near, and opposite, are inhabited by people who formerly lived without molesting others, but latterly carried on a piratical warfare in rafts against vessels on their way from Egypt. But they suffered reprisals, when an armament was sent out against them, which devastated their country.[2]
>
> The Nabateans and Sabateans, situated above Syria, are the first people who occupy Arabia Felix. They were frequently in the habit of overruning this country before the Romans became masters of it, but at present both they and the Syrians are subject to the Romans. The Capital of the Nabateans is called Petra. It is situated on a spot which is surrounded and

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[1] *Geography,* XVI, 2, 34.

[2] *Ibid.,* XVI, 4, 18.

fortified by a smooth and level rock (petra), which externally is abrupt and precipitous, but within there are abundant springs of water both for domestic purposes and for watering gardens. Beyond the city-enclosure, the country is for the most part a desert, particularly towards Judaea.

It is a three or four days' journey to Jericho; to Phoenicia, five. It is always governed by a king of the royal race. The king has a minister who is one of the Companions, and is called "Brother." It has excellent laws for the administration of public affairs.

Athenodorus, a philosopher and my friend, who had visited Petra, used to relate with surprise, that he found many Romans and also many other strangers residing there; that the strangers frequently engaged in litigation, both with one another and with the natives; but that the natives had never any dispute amongst themselves, and lived together in perfect harmony.

The expedition of the Romans against the Arabians that was lately made in our time (ca. 130 A.U.C.) under the command of Aelius Gallus, has made us acquainted with many customs peculiar to the country. Augustus Caesar despatched this general to explore the nature of these places and their inhabitants, as well as those of Ethiopia; for he observed that the Troglodyte country adjoining Egypt is a neighbor to these, and that the Arabian Gulf which entirely separates the Arabians from the Troglodytes is narrow. It was his intention either to conciliate or subdue the Arabians. He was also influenced by the report, which had prevailed from all time, that the people were very wealthy, and exchanged their aromatics and precious stones for silver and gold, but never expended with foreigners any part of what they received in exchange; for he hoped either to enjoy them as rich friends or to conquer them as rich enemies. He was moreover encouraged to undertake this enterprise by the expectation of assistance from the Nabateans, who promised to cooperate with him in everything. The expedition failed.[3]

[3] *Ibid.*, XVI, 4, 21, 22.

The Nabateans are prudent, and fond of accumulating property. The community fines a person who has diminished his substance, and they confer honors on him who has increased it. They have few slaves, and are served for the most part by their relations, or by one another, or each person is his own servant; and this custom extends even to their kings. They eat their meals in companies consisting of thirteen persons. Each company is attended by two musicians. The king gives many entertainments in his great palace. No one drinks more than eleven cupfulls, from separate cups, each of gold. The king is so democratic that in addition to serving himself, he sometimes even ministers to others. He often also submits his public accounts to the people, and sometimes also the conduct of his life is inquired into.

Their houses are sumptuous, and of stone; and their cities are without walls on account of the peace (which prevails among them). A great part of the country is fertile, and produces everything except oil of olives. Instead of it they use the oil of sesame. The sheep have white fleeces; their oxen are large; the country does not produce horses; camels render service instead of them. Even the kings go out without tunics in girdles and sandals, but the color is purple.

Some merchandise is altogether imported into the country, others not altogether, especially as some articles are native products, as gold and silver, and many of the aromatics; but brass and iron, purple garments, storax (a gum), and costus (a root used as spice, like pepper) embossed work, drawings, and statues, are not native productions.

They look upon the bodies of the dead as no better than dung; as Heraclitus says, "corpses are more fit to be cast out than dung." Wherefore they bury even their kings beside dung heaps. They worship the sun, and construct the altar on the top of a house, pouring out libations and burning frankincense upon it every day.[4]

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[4] *Ibid.,* XVI, 4, 26.

APPENDIX VII

THE NABATEANS OF ARAMÆAN ORIGIN, ACCORDING TO DE QUATREMÈRE

De Quatremère in an article entitled *"Memoire sur les Nabateens,"* published in the *Nouveau Journal de la Société Asiatique de Paris,* XV, Vol. II, 1835, rejected the view that the Nabateans were descended from Nebaioth (Gen. 25:13), and attached them genealogically to the Aramæans. And a fragment of an Arabic version of the *Falaḥa Nabatiya,* a treatise on "Nabatean Agriculture," confirmed him in this conclusion.[1] Accordingly, he identified the "Nebat" with the Assyrians, as an older branch of the great Aramæan family, who from remote antiquity were established in Mesopotamia, and there throve and waxed wealthy, assiduously cultivating, not only the ground, but the world of mind, and producing a literature, impressed to a high degree with the spirit of philosophy and astrology.

A part of the population addicted itself to Art and Commerce; and, for reasons now unknown, it threw out distant colonies such as Petra, whose ruins, he thinks, contrast strongly with the architecture of the Semitic race. Hither they transported their arts and sciences, their literature and their works, which their Arab successors deemed worthy of translation. The fragment on "Nabatean Agriculture," De Quatremère regarded as a singularly original remnant of a literature which bore upon it the impress of Mighty Babylon. And this document together with the coins of the Nabatean kings (Aretas, Obodas, and others) confirms, he thinks, the theory that this mysterious race was of Chaldæo-Aramæan origin.

---

[1] But, according to A. von Gutschmid (*Zeit. d. morgenl. Gesellschaft,* XV, 1ff.), this work on "Nabatean Agriculture," which professes to be an Arabic translation by Ibn Waḥshîya from an ancient Nabatean source, is a forgery of the tenth century.

Chwolson, a Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg, in a volume entitled, *Über die Überreste der alt Babylonischen Literatur in Arabische Übersetzung,* 1849, endorsed heartily and amplified the views of De Quatremère; and on the basis of the Nabatean literature concluded that the Nabati books introduce us to a great unknown nation of the remotest antiquity whose civilization was to that of the Greeks, in time, as the latter is to ours; indeed, that it was as old as that of the ancient Egyptians.

Following these, Richard F. Burton, in his book *The Gold Mines of Midian* (1878), accepted the theory of these two authorities, advocating the view that the Nabat of Chaldæa are the same race as the Nabateans of Arabia Petræa (p. 239). Likewise, Edward Stanley Poole, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible,* article, "Nebaioth" (Vol. III, p. 2082).

Alois Musil in his recent volume entitled *Arabia Deserta* (1927, p. 492) also identifies the Nabateans with the Nabaitai of Assyria. He says: "All accounts indicate that the Assyrian Nabaitai were identical with the Biblical Nebajôt. The latter also issued from Ishmael and were the strongest of his tribes (Gen. 25:13). According to Genesis 28:9; 36:2f, Esau took to wife a daughter of Ishmael and a sister of Nebajôt. This relates the Nebajôt to the Edomites (descendants of Esau). As they are also related to the Ḳedar and aided them, we must follow up the hint by looking for their habitations between the Edomite and the Ḳedar territory. Assyrian accounts place the Nabaitai tribe in the southern part of the depression of Sirḥân and in the desert which spreads to the south. This situation fully confirms the Biblical accounts, according to which it bordered on Edom, and south of the pastures of the Ḳedar which reached to Adumu (Dumat al-Ghandal). Pliny (*Natural History,* V. p. 65) sought the Nabaitai in the neighborhood of the Cedrei, our Ḳedar. Because they encamped away from the roads over which the Assyrian armies used to march, they could uphold their independence longer than their allies. As yet we lack a single Assyrian account to testify that the Assyrian army marched from Adumu westward to Edom, or that it entered the desert from Edom and thus got into the territory of the Nabaitai.

> The territory of the Nebajôt was pierced by three important trade roads: one led from the Persian Gulf by way of Adumu northwest to Damascus; one led to the west in the direction of Gaza and Egypt; one led northwest from the oasis of Tejma. Thus the Nebajôt were in constant connection with trade caravans, probably leasing camels to them. They were also engaged in trade upon their own account and pressed over the transport roads in the east toward the Persian Gulf and in the west toward Edom, which they bordered on and were gradually subjugating.[1]

Musil thus revives the former view held by such authorities as De Quatremère, Professor Chwolson, Burton and Stanley Poole; nevertheless, we believe, in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the Nabateans were Arabs, who migrated northwardly out of the desert of Arabia! Yet, it must be allowed that their origin is wrapt in obscurity.

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[1] Musil, *Arabia Deserta,* 1927, p. 492.

APPENDIX VIII

PETRA AND PALMYRA

Both Petra and Palmyra were in their day great centers of trade; each one in turn being not only a rendezvous, but also a starting point, of desert caravans. Both were depositories, "banks," or "safe deposits," so to speak, of money and goods.

Petra, as we have seen, was snugly nestled among the sandstone rocks of Mt. Seir, some 50 miles south of the Dead Sea; Palmyra was quite as securely isolated in the Syrian Desert, 150 miles northeast of Damascus.[1]

Petra first came to notice when Antigonus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, attempted, in vain, to subdue the Nabateans, whose capital she was (312 B.C.);[2] Palmyra, when first heard of (ca. 42 B.C.), was already rich enough to excite the cupidity of Mark Antony.[3]

Petra rose to power during the long strife between the Seleucid kings of North Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt (ca. 300-200 B.C.); when the old caravan route through Western Palestine, along the coast, via Tyre and Gaza, was perforce abandoned, because of war, for the desert route south from Damascus via Petra, 'Aḳabah, and across the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. In like manner, Palmyra rose from a mere halting station for caravans to a commercial city of first rank, while the Romans and Parthians were destroying each other through war (ca. 200-300 A.D.).[4]

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[1] Pliny speaks of Palmyra as lying excluded from the habitable earth, and as occupying an independent niche between the empires of the Romans and the Parthians (*Natural History*, v, 25).

[2] Diodorus Siculus, XIX, 94-97.

[3] Appian, *Bell.* CIV, 5, 9. The Arab name of Palmyra is Tadmor; but the "Tadmor" of 2 Chron. 8:4 should not be identified with Palmyra, as it is more probably a textual corruption for Tamar, a place somewhere in Judah; cf. 1 Kings 9:18.

[4] Cf. G. A. Cooke, Art., "Palmyra," *Encyc. Brit.* XX, p. 653; also, F. C. Burkitt, *Palestine in General History* (The Schweich Lectures for 1926), 1929, pp. 98-103.

Petra having risen to prominence toward the close of the second century B.C. maintained her desert preëminence as the capital and trading center of the Nabatean kingdom for over 200 years; Palmyra, on the other hand, having sprung into prominence soon after Trajan suppressed the kingdom of Petra (106 A.D.) continued to attract the trade of the Desert (130-270 A.D.) and reached the acme of her prosperity under Zenobia (270 A.D.). To this period belong most of her inscribed monuments. After Petra's humiliation by the Romans, Palmyra had no longer any competitor.

Palmyra was in no sense an industrial city: she produced nothing. Her prosperity was entirely due to her desert commerce. The Romans did much to encourage and regulate trade, and to make her the first city of importance, commercially, in all western Asia. According to Pliny, her exports to Rome, alone, of silks and perfumes, jewels and pearls, and incense, amounted to more than three millions of dollars annually.[5]

It was during these years of great prosperity that the Palmyrenes built their wonderful desert city; which, as the ruins show, was planned by architects who knew their science. They even brought great granite blocks all the way from the First Cataract of the Nile, more than a thousand miles distant. Many of the 750 columns of rosy-white limestone, each measuring 55 feet in height, which flanked the central avenue of the city, still stand. They start from the Great Triumphal Arch near the Temple of the Sun, and extend northwest nearly three-fourths of a mile. Palmyra boasts, also, of lofty sepulchral towers which are supplied with richly ornamented porticos, and enclose handsome chambers for the dead. These Tomb-Towers are quite unique; for they possess a distinct individuality of their own.[6] Sulphur springs, also, in the near vicinage add natural attractiveness to the city. Even the ruins of this marvelous place still dazzle the visitor. Palmyra, once, for at least 50 years, was the mistress of western Asia.

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[5] *Natural History*, xii, 41.

[6] One of these sepulchral-towers measures 110 feet in height, and is 33 feet square at the base. It has six stories, with tomb cavities, it is estimated, for not fewer than 480 bodies.

In 226 A.D., the Parthians lost their grip on the East, and the Sasanians, who were strongly Persian, usurped their place. By 260 A.D., the Romans had become so weakened in Western Asia, that Emperor Valerian was captured by Shapur (Sapor) the Persian monarch, who overran much of western Asia, capturing Antioch, and penetrating far into Asia Minor.

Odenathus was at this time the undisputed Lord of Palmyra, having been made by the Romans a *Dux orientis*, i.e., a sort of Vice Emperor of Rome. When he saw the tables turning from Roman to Persian domination, he sought the friendship of Shapur, but his overtures of fealty and alliance were persistently spurned. In revenge, he, accordingly, organized the Arabs of the desert and the peasants of Syria into armed resistance. Shapur soon weakened in his purposes to dominate the whole of western Asia, and Odenathus was able, with the help of the Roman Emperor Gallienus, to conquer Palestine and even the Delta of Egypt. He fixed his own capital at Emesa, the modern Ḥoms, about 100 miles north of Damascus.

But Odenathus, unfortunately, in the zenith of his success, was assassinated, along with his eldest son (267 A.D.); whereupon Zenobia, his vigorous and ambitious queen, seized the government, ruling in the name of her young son Waḥab-allath. Gallienus died in 268 A.D. Zenobia, however, was promptly recognized by his successor Claudius; and, also, by Aurelian, who succeeded Claudius in 270 A.D. But Zenobia soon discovered that there could be but one chief ruler in western Asia. Accordingly, she began to assert an independence of spirit throughout the regions of Syria and Egypt, where Rome was supposed to possess primary authority, occupying Egypt with 70,000 troops, and pushing her way far into Asia Minor. Aurelian perceived the situation he was in and without delay took steps to drive Zenobia and her forces out of Egypt. She was also compelled to relinquish her hold on Asia Minor. Even Antioch and north Syria were wrenched from her domain, and she was forced to return to her capital. But here, too, in an epoch-making battle, she was signally defeated; whereupon, she took refuge in Palmyra, 90 miles to the east of Emesa.

Aurelian pursued her to her oasis-home; where, after a brief struggle, Zenobia, seeing her necessary fate, fled in despair on a swift dromedary into the desert, hoping to escape; but she was eventually overtaken, brought back, and carried to Rome to adorn the triumph of Aurelian. The Palmyrenes were forced to surrender. This was in 272 A.D.

Though Aurelian treated the inhabitants of Palmyra with great lenity, he was scarcely halfway home to Rome, when they rebelled and massacred the Roman garrison, which he had left to guard the city. Aurelian, learning at Byzantium of their treachery, quickly returned to Palmyra, recaptured the city, ruthlessly slaughtered the inhabitants, and completely demolished the beautiful buildings of the place.

Though the city was subsequently partially rebuilt, it never recovered its former glory. Politically and commercially, also, its history was ended. To-day, the few inhabitants of Palmyra live in dugouts and caverns among the ruins, most of them being accommodated within the small area of the Great Temple Court, a most squalid community!

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